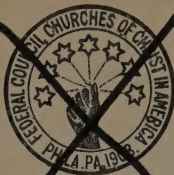


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The Power to Right Our Wrongs

The Power to Right Our Wrongs

*Evidence from Events that
Christian Principles are Best
Aiding Humanity :: ::*

By
ANNA FITZGERALD VAN LOAN



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*Affectionately dedicated to the
memory of my beloved
Mother*

Mary Louisa Fitz Gerald

*whose rare loveliness of character and
gentle influence were an inspiration ;
and whose wonderful patience and tri-
umphant faith radiated as a benedic-
tion to those about her. Hers was the
"Peace that passeth understanding"*

*"Her children rise up
And call her blessed."*

Preface

IT has been my object in writing this book to show from facts, and not from theories, what conditions are best helping human sufferings to-day.

So it is with an earnest wish that the testimony presented will prove of some value in aiding humanity that the following pages are now submitted to the public.

ANNA FITZ GERALD VAN LOAN.

*Babylon, Long Island,
September 14, 1914.*

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I

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

THE wise observe the "signs of the times" and endeavor to deal with them.

Throughout the world, the air is filled with the murmurings of discontent from the people commonly called the "poorer classes."

We cannot close our ears to the sound thereof, nor would it be advisable to attempt to do so.

On the contrary, it is incumbent upon all, the rich and the poor alike, from the standpoint of wisdom, as well as from the humanitarian aspect, to do whatever within them lies to eradicate the fundamental causes of such conditions.

If we may judge from the testimony of history, a proper consideration of sociological problems in the past, as well as in the present generation, might have averted serious disturbances.

It is true, that discontent with their condition has, in a measure, always existed among the poorer classes; but the difference between them now, and in previous centuries, lies in the striking fact that formerly they were uneducated and unorganized

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in any way, for their betterment; whereas, at the present day, education among them, as derived from schooling, is more general and more advanced even than as it was among the aristocrats of "olden times"; and concerning material welfare, they are organized to assert their rights in Labor Unions, Socialism and various other federations founded for such purposes.

The conditions existing in Mexico, Spain, Portugal, China, Turkey, Russia, Persia, Cuba, and the distressing pauperism in England, as well as the recent political crisis there, and the swelling tide of Socialism in many lands, notably in Germany, not to mention similar disturbances in other countries, are strong ensamples of the necessity of regarding the voice of the poorer classes.

Not only are they organized to maintain their rights, in different localities and nations, but some branches of the Labor Unions are prepared to sustain world-wide strikes, to uphold their claims, judging from the words of the president of the International Transport Workers' Federation, who is quoted as having said: "We can tie up the shipping of the entire world in twenty-four hours. We work on important occasions with a secret cipher code, which, if employed in telegraphic or cable communications, would enable us to paralyze

traffic all over the world within twenty-four hours. The Federation has control over the Transport Workers in the following seventeen countries: Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Finland."

So the complaints of the laboring classes should, and must be reckoned with, judging from the conditions just mentioned, though some persons blindly close their eyes to the "signs of the times."

In this country numerous Labor Unions are organized to work actively for the consummation of their stated purposes.

Among the leading ones are the American Federation of Labor, comprised of one hundred and thirteen national and international Unions, with an approximate paid membership of two million persons, who are publishing five hundred and forty weekly and monthly papers devoted to the cause of labor. Besides this Federation are six National Labor Unions not connected with it; and also Knights of Labor, Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists and two separate organizations calling themselves Industrial Workers of the World; members-at-large of one of them with headquarters at 160 North Fifth Avenue, Chicago, paying an

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initiation fee of two dollars, and one dollar per month for dues and assessments. This will give an approximate idea of the moneys levied for the support of strikes and similar purposes.

According to Samuel P. Orth, from 1881 to 1905 the "United States Bureau of Labor tabulated 36,757 strikes affecting 181,407 establishments.

"In 1903 there were 3,494 strikes, an average of ten a day.

"The causes thereof have been as follows :

CAUSES OF STRIKES				
	1881	1891	1901	1905
	<i>Per</i>	<i>Per</i>	<i>Per</i>	<i>Per</i>
	<i>cent.</i>	<i>cent.</i>	<i>cent.</i>	<i>cent.</i>
Increase of Wages . . .	61	27	29	32
Reduction in Hours . .	10	11	4	5
Recognition of Union .	6	14	28	31

"In 1902 there closed ranks in the war of wages 659,792 laborers, more than fought at Gettysburg on both sides of the conflict."

As complaints generating such disturbances are noticeable in practically all the civilized nations of the globe to a greater or lesser degree, the inference might justly be made that some underlying causes must be at work for their existence.

It will be one of the objects of these pages to attempt to show whether such complaints are really healthy and normal or whether they are, as some

think, merely the jealousy of the unfortunate class of those well favored in worldly circumstances, and to make some suggestions, founded on successful results, towards their eradication.

II

REMOTE CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

THE conditions just enumerated, however, are not the fruits of one or two generations of inequality. On the contrary they are rather the result of circumstances that have existed for hundreds and even thousands of years.

Probably during the time of prehistoric man, and certainly since the advent of history, the individual or the tribe possessed of the greater physical strength preyed upon and subjugated the weaker ones.

To speak in general, from this brute strength, and the lack of consideration of man for his fellow beings, arose a state of servitude.

The serf not only became the chattel of his stronger brother, but he had also no means of helping himself, for he was bereft of all wealth, and no education was given him to develop his intellect.

If the brain be undeveloped it becomes fallow, as do the muscles of the arm or the body when unused; so the physically weaker man became gradually deteriorated in all respects and made less and less capable of helping himself.

On reliable authority many scholars credit the statement that our English speaking race is an offshoot of the dwellers in India. And in that land teeming with three hundred millions of souls is found to-day a most pitiable example of the reign of brute force, combined with a religious fanaticism, that has been in existence for thousands of years, dating from the earliest history of that country.

The Pariah, or lowest caste in India, representing six millions in number, consists of a people reduced to the condition practically of social lepers, being degraded even below animals.

The touch of a cat or a dog is considered less polluting than is that of a Pariah.

Even the shadow of one of them falling upon a man of higher caste is supposed to be so contaminating that the latter must bathe himself to be purified.

The few pennies that "The Untouchable," as he is called, earns a day are also thrown to him, for fear of the defilement of any possible contact with him.

Even from the public wells he cannot draw water; so he is obliged to resort to the streams and to the river Ganges to slake his thirst.

In the extreme heat of the Indian summer these

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streams become putrid, so it is only to be expected that pestilences should rage, as they do, in this caste ridden country.

Spurned by those of a higher caste, and with no money nor education, nor any opportunity whatsoever to help themselves, the condition of the poor Pariahs has been, and is to-day, one of the most pitiable of any people upon the globe.

Their only chance for help lies in the efforts that are being made by Christian missionaries in their behalf, and also by the English Government. But the ordained missionaries are only about one thousand in number, with approximately as many native clergy, and the hands of the Government of England are tied by the policy of non-interference with the religious customs of the East Indians : and the present degradation of the Pariahs is in part attributable to the religious system of caste.

Descended from the aborigines of the Indian Peninsula they were subjugated by invading tribes, from whom the present prevailing population, consisting of the upper castes, are descendants.

In order to make their conquest more absolute, they were reduced to a condition wherein it would be practically impossible for them to rise.

So their conquerors pronounced any contact with them to be pollution.

As this condition of affairs was consistent with the religion of their conquerors, which is founded on an iron bound system of caste, their degradation has been insurmountable.

But the pitiable subjection of this people rests primarily upon their conquest by physical strength, by a people who have kept the heel of oppression on them for thousands of years, even up to the present day.

History demonstrates further that in all countries of the world, in ancient times, the conquerors gradually assumed the position of rulers and aristocrats, and that those subjugated by physical force were made to obey the commands of those who had prevailed.

At the time of the Roman Supremacy captives were brought in chains to Rome, and paraded in the streets to demonstrate the power of the conqueror.

It is estimated that Cæsar alone killed over one million men through his conquering armies, and those he brought to the capital city in chains probably have never been computed.

Everywhere oppression and tyranny prevailed.

Herod killed members of his family to entrench himself more securely on his throne, and even murdered innocent babies in the same effort.

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The power of the world lay in the hands of a few conquerors, who surrounded themselves with arrogant supporters, or an aristocracy who cultivated their lands and supported themselves through the efforts of the subjugated masses.

Under the circumstances it was impossible for the masses to better themselves, even as it has been for the Pariahs in India, though the rise of the individual, owing to remarkable gifts, sometimes occurred.

Is it strange, then, that the upper classes, sated with power and sated with wealth, sank into debauchery and unparalleled excesses?

The people of a whole province were burdened with taxes that were given by Mark Antony to Cleopatra to satisfy her caprices.

The scenes enacted at public feasts were beyond description, even wives publicly acknowledging their shame.

Throughout the civilized world, at no period has a parallel state of debauchery ever been recorded, for Rome governed the known world, and its influence was far reaching.

At a time when the degeneracy of the old Roman Empire was at its height a Child was born into the world in such humble circumstances that His cradle was a manger. Born of a mother poor in this

world's goods, yet He came of royal lineage, so He was entitled to sit in the "Halls of the Mighty." Instead of following such a course, His teachings were rather "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate," and for occupation He chose the humble one of carpentering.

At the outset of His ministry, He surrounded Himself with fishermen and other peasants who were "unlearned and ignorant men."

No more direct antithesis of the age in which He lived could be imagined.

Yet centuries ago the power of the Cæsars became extinct and fell into reproach.

But the power of the "Friend of Unlearned Men" continues supreme in the nations representing the highest civilization and is slowly but surely conquering the world, active missions having been begun only during the last century in the countries now designated as heathen, and to-day Christians are numbered by the millions in those lands.

Mighty kings make obeisance to Him and acknowledge Him to be "King of kings and Lord of lords."

Even in that land of gross spiritual darkness, in caste ridden India, faith in Him is bearing fruit, and is proving to be the only hope of the poor

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Pariahs. Some schools have been started and public wells dug for their benefit through the efforts of Christians and a Christian government, not to mention other endeavors for their bodily, spiritual and mental needs.

From the time of His ministry, and after His death, the teachings of the great Nazarene, preached chiefly by unlearned and ignorant men, grew and spread. Gradually the educated also became believers; and in the fourth century the Emperor Constantine set the stamp of his approval upon the faith.

The key-note of Christ's teachings, that of belief in His divinity, was widely accepted, but His example of being on terms of friendship with the poor and unlearned the world, permeated with heathen ideas, was not prepared to follow.

A great gulf existed between the uneducated masses and the aristocracy, who, jealous of their privileges, sought to help their fellow beings by the giving of alms rather than by educating them to help themselves.

The Church built monasteries and convents, sheltering therein persons who devoted their lives ministering to the spiritual needs of the poor, and aiding them as objects of charity.

But between the priest and the uneducated,

nevertheless, a social gulf was fixed. Making companions of them and bringing them to the table, as did the great Nazarene, was followed only in cases so exceptional as that of Francis of Assisi, and the members of the Order he founded, that they have become a subject of history.

Though bereft of a fundamental significance, that of the real "Brotherhood of Man," the teachings of Christ were continuing to bear fruit in a world percolated with heathen ideas. But not to perfection, for out of the social order of oppression by the conqueror a benevolent attitude towards the poor arose in Christian countries, crystallizing into what was termed the "Feudal System."

The attitude of the lord towards his serf, who was uneducated and in abject poverty, was of that towards a person dependent upon him for subsistence who was to be protected and helped as much as the social gulf between them would allow, and for such assistance manual labor and services in time of war were expected in return.

This was a step above the social order of the old Roman Empire—that of the conqueror and the slave. But it was only a step, for centuries of inherited prejudice against the poor and ignorant, combined with the desire of the rich to be served by retainers, had made men's hearts too arid to

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accept a fundamental teaching of their Great Leader that all men were to be brothers.

Nevertheless the leaven of His words was still working, for in Christian countries the state of the serf dependent upon his lord gradually developed into another social order for the masses,—that of the peasant, still poor and uneducated, but quite independent to work out his own destinies.

So in time of oppression, as in the days prior to the French Revolution, he arose in his might, and the blood that he spilled was in defense of his own rights rather than for the glory of a conquering Cæsar, or for the protection of a castle of some mighty lord.

When this era had been reached the time was ripe in some Christian countries for throwing off dominant forms of political, religious and social oppression.

Remnants that had been transplanted to America of the crumbling fabrics of oppression existing in European countries did not long stand upon the soil of the New World; for these remnants fell, with a crash that is still continuing to vibrate, when the colonies threw off the intolerable yoke of George the Third, and stood forth before the nations as the Champion of religious, political and social liberty, stating in their defiant Declaration

of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

Towards the end of the eighteenth century after the coming of Christ, a nation stood forth for the first time for the "Brotherhood of Man," in accordance with His teachings.

As human beings, with a history dating from thousands of years before His Advent, and as Christians having professed to follow His fundamental precepts, we should be ashamed that the day was so long delayed.

But as Americans we should be proud that we as a nation were the first to proclaim for the "Brotherhood of Man" represented by declarations for religious, political and social freedom and equality.

III

RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC STAND-POINTS

THE question now most concerning ourselves is to what extent we have been and still are living up to the principles promulgated by the founders of our nation.

These precepts were evolved through centuries of oppression and bloodshed as the price paid for a disregard of the example set by the Greatest of Teachers.

Unquestionably since our inception as a nation great religious liberty has been practiced, though during our colonial era persecutions existed, as in the old countries.

Fortunately this spirit of religious toleration has been constantly developing, as is being demonstrated by the efforts now being made for a unification of our missionary labors, and even for an amalgamation of the Churches themselves.

Some denominations and some individuals may still cherish hard and uncharitable feelings towards others ; but with us, as a people, the spirit of religious toleration is very marked, and the persecuted

of other lands flock to our shores by the thousands. So we have much for which to be thankful from the standpoint of religious liberty.

To denote the progress that has been made in our land, both in regard to spiritual toleration and in an effort to consummate Christian unity among the Churches, the following extract from a letter written by Bishop Anderson of Chicago will be significant :

“Up to the 25th of last July eighteen commissions had been appointed by as many different Churches to operate in bringing about a World Conference for the consideration of questions touching upon faith and order. . . . The Conference when it meets will be called on to study and discuss those things on which we differ from the standpoint of those things in which we are at one.

“The Conference will have no power to commit participating Commissions upon any point, but it is desirable that their members should be prepared by the cultivation of a sympathetic interest to receive the results of a Conference in good will and with the disposition to proceed towards reunion, rather than to seek reason for rejecting it. . . .

“Faithfully yours,

“CHAS. D. ANDERSON,

“*Bishop of Chicago, Pres.*

“Jan. 6th.”

In the same connection, extracts are also made from the *Literary Digest*, December 12, 1912:

“FOR COÖPERATIVE PROTESTANTISM.

“An armistice in religious hostilities is indicated when denominations meet to plan coöperation.

“The Rev. Frederick Lynch made the following statement relative to the meeting of the Federal Council of Churches, recently held in Chicago.

“‘We may well count it of high import to the future of Christendom that the Lord has got all the Protestant denominations in one room, in mutual confidence, and desire to serve one another.’ So much he feels may be counted on the positive side.

“On the other hand, he points out (in the *Congregationalist*, Boston) that it is easy to overemphasize the significance of the fact that 350 delegates from thirty denominations have just been sitting together for a week considering the things of the Kingdom. ‘These delegates are officially appointed by the denominations, and the Federal Council is a real body composed of 17,000,000 Christians, and is about to be incorporated, so that it will become as real a part of our interdenominational church life as our assemblies, conventions and councils are of the denominational life.’ But —

“ ‘We must not claim for it more than it really represents. It cannot as yet legislate for the Churches. It is not as yet really representative of the Churches in the sense that the people of the Churches are in intimate touch with it and regard it as their common voice. That will come, but it is not yet here. It is not even a manifestation of that church unity for which we are all praying.’ ”

“Dean Shailer Mathews, of Chicago, the new president of the Federal Council, declared at these meetings that ‘The era of coöperative Protestantism has certainly dawned.’ ”

“To Dr. Lynch there seemed even more than dawning light. ‘No one could listen to the reports of the work done by two permanent commissions and the resolutions offered by various committees without seeing that the beginning of coöperative Protestantism is more than love-feasts and council tables.’ He goes on :

“ ‘The Social Service Commission has accomplished real things for the united Church. The Peace and Arbitration Commission is creating a Church Peace League and secured 33,000 sermons on peace last November. Through other committees, and through its central office, the combined Churches are more and more continually at work for the common Kingdom.’ ”

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“If any one thing was apparent at Chicago, it was the feeling of all (we may say all without exception) that the Federal Council of Churches must now become the channel through which the united Churches must move against the evil of the world.

“It must not be forgotten, then, that the era of coöperative Protestantism is here.

“Neither should another thing be lost sight of, namely, that at the meeting of the Council at Chicago the combined Protestant forces expressed their faith in the social gospel and the social mission of the Church. It evinced itself spontaneously in every speech and resolution. There was no dissenting note.

“The program had been framed so that the report of the Committee on Evangelism should come at the end as the climax under the title of ‘The Supreme Mission of the Church.’ It was an able report, but if we sense the Council accurately it did not put its seal on evangelism as the ‘supreme’ mission of the Church. It put the recreating of the world, the redemption of the social order, the building of the Kingdom of God as the ‘supreme’ mission, evangelism being one agency in this process.

“But it is a highly significant thing that the thirty-two denominations when they assembled in-

stinctively turned their thought to economic justice, social purity, clean politics, a saloonless nation and international peace."

The future alone can decide whether this movement will eventuate or not in a unity of Christian doctrines.

But with such developments towards a union of Protestant Churches for the purposes just designated, it seems a practical thought that in the near future a congress of Churches might convene at regular intervals, with authority from their respective denominations to discuss and decide problems pertaining to the needs of a common Christianity, in combatting both evil and heathenism.

The different states of the Union have their respective wants, but with common needs that are legislated for by Congress. And judging from the tenacity with which many hold to certain doctrines in the Churches it is evident that such are essential to them for their religious requirements; hence the improbability of any change in this generation at least regarding a unification of the different denominations along the lines of doctrinal questions. But we all have a common Christianity with fundamental beliefs, as we have also a common humanity with fundamental requirements to be met, as well as common evils to be overcome.

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With common problems to be solved, they could best be dealt with by a Congress composed of representatives of the different Churches, authorized by them to act in session concerning all matters, not doctrinal, that pertain to a common Christianity and to a common humanity ; even as representatives from the different states convened at Washington settle all questions pertaining to a common nationality.

The next thought arising is to what extent we have been following the teachings of our Great Leader regarding the poor, and also concerning the declaration made by our forefathers "that all men are created equal," which principle was the fruit of His doctrine.

He did not seek the poor in places set apart alone for them to congregate, as is done so largely at the present day, in mission halls, thereby segregating them socially from the upper classes ; nor having visited them, did He exclude them from His own home and table.

The friendship between them was reciprocal.

They were His companions everywhere, except when He went apart to fast and to pray.

As He set the example of true friendship their interests were His interest and their spiritual welfare His great concern.

Nor was He above receiving help from them in return for His benefits.

On the contrary they were His assistants, preaching His Word and working miracles in His name.

They were His chosen disciples to teach His doctrines ; so that after His ascension His word was carried by them to remote Persia (probably India and Arabia), Greece, Rome, Spain, and to the most westerly land then known to civilization, which by some is interpreted as meaning Ireland. Other countries, both remote and near, were also visited by them.

By making associates of the poor and unlearned, He did away with the social gulf and the restraint arising therefrom that man had created through years of injustice and oppression.

Seeking the poor in their homes only as objects of charity does little to bridge the chasm.

By making them co-workers in His ministry He also gave them the happiness of giving as well as of receiving through their companionship. The writer knows from experience how anxious are the deserving poor to reciprocate any kindness, having been the recipient of various gifts from them.

Those who are really deserving dislike being made objects of charity. And were they treated by the upper classes to-day with the same reciprocal

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friendship, guided by tact and consideration, such as Christ gave to them, class distinctions and the hard feelings generated therefrom inevitably would disappear.

But in choosing friends among the poor, personal likings should be considered as much as in selecting among our richer friends.

And even greater tact should be displayed in our dealings with them because of the social difference that has so long existed.

Probably all persons have acquaintances among those who are called "working people" with whom true friendships might be formed.

All friendship should be a natural growth.

Going to the poorer quarters of the town and asking families there to our homes, without some previous acquaintance, would probably make "confusion worse confounded."

It is advisable in all efforts to exercise common sense, lest one that is commendable should fail through a lack of it.

Before we turn our thoughts from the consideration of "liberty of conscience" concerning which the American nation has played so leading a part, it would be advisable to stop and consider whether or not such freedom has resulted in a neglect of the spread of the Gospel and also of missionary efforts.

The following quotations from public statements made by members of the "Men and Religion Forward Movement" will aptly illustrate the part that this nation is taking in missionary work and social betterment:

"The total amount given in 1909 by the Protestant churches for evangelization and improvement of the people was \$24,613,075.

"Of this sum the United States gave about \$11,000,000, Canada about \$600,000, Great Britain \$9,584,683, and all the other countries combined giving between three and four millions.

"With the increasing responsibility assumed by this new movement, our annual contributions will be increased from \$11,000,000 to \$55,000,000, and those of Canada from \$600,000 to \$3,200,000, this country accepting the task of sending missionaries to about 550,000,000 heathens, and Canada to 40,000,000."¹

In "Progress and Prosperity," the author, Colonel Washington, makes the following statements: "According to the United States census, there were 4,207 benevolent institutions in the country in 1904, the cost of maintenance of which was over fifty-two million dollars. It will be found that while public institutions care for

¹ *New York Times*, April 10, 1910.

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9,513 orphans, private and religious asylums care for 33,374, so that the private benefactors assume the responsibility of ninety per cent. of the burden and expense.

“These institutions will serve as examples of the proportion of the burden of responsibility in philanthropic enterprises that is assumed by Americans individually.

“There never was a period in the world when generosity and public spirit equalled that of to-day in the United States. The benefactions for the year 1909 totalled \$175,000,000, and those of 1910, \$125,000,000. A single benefaction, that of John S. Kennedy, for \$30,000,000, ran the total up to a very large sum for that year. A gift of \$100,000,000 for public purposes by Mr. Rockefeller only awaits the sanction of Congress to be placed at work for good causes. . . . It is estimated that Mr. Rockefeller has given away \$155,000,000 and Mr. Carnegie \$154,000,000. In 1910 Mr. Rockefeller's public donations amounted to \$5,332,000 and those of Mr. Carnegie to \$4,016,000, so it would appear that hundreds of people, many of whom have never been heard of in the annals of philanthropy, contributed the remaining \$115,000,000 of this vast sum.”¹

¹ “Progress and Prosperity,” pp. 861-863.

"The World's Good Samaritan" is the title of an article designating the United States, written by Carl Crow, that recently appeared in a leading periodical.

In it the author stated: "In consistent aid to the victims of every disaster, whether in peace or war, America leads the world and is the most beneficent of nations. . . .

"From the view-point of the famine district in China, no very large amount of aid would be expected from the United States, as it is least in evidence in that area of all the great powers.

"The total amount of aid from all foreign countries for the last famine there was approximately \$375,000. Of this sum \$308,566 was given by the United States."

TABLE OF CONTRIBUTIONS

United States	\$308,566
Great Britain	1,867
Germany	3,643
Japan and Corea	2,385
Sweden	1,995
Russia	766
Canada	38,040

The author continues: "*This is not explained by saying we are rich and prosperous, for there were few large gifts making up the contributions. The greater part of the funds consisted of nickels, dimes and half-dollars.*

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“For the Messina disaster Congress appropriated \$800,000 and the total American contributions exceeded \$2,000,000, a figure approached by no other country, though all responded liberally. A few months after the Messina disaster we sent \$30,000 for the relief of the sufferers in the Turkey-Armenia outrages.

“In January, 1910, we sent \$50,000 to thrifty France for the relief of those people who were made destitute by the Paris flood.”

And so through all the recent disasters the United States has been munificent in its contributions; and the American Red Cross Society is organized to give immediate relief all over the world on such occasions, as well as during the time of war for our own people.

From these facts, the United States is to-day taking the leading part in evangelizing the world and in general philanthropic work.

IV

THE POLITICAL STANDARD

UNFORTUNATELY much less by way of approbation may be said regarding the political aspect than concerning our religious and political standards.

At the beginning of our national life, with a population the majority of whom had sought these shores, either for religious or political freedom, our Government, by the people, was conducted probably as well as could be expected of any human organization. The country thrived under it, and this very success attracted many to our shores.

But the motives for the coming of a large number of recent emigrants apparently are very different from those which actuated so many of our forefathers.

It seems hardly necessary to moralize on a normal and an undue desire for material betterment. But suffice it to say that the children of some of these emigrants, educated in our public schools, in a few years' time have become our

representatives in ward politics, and in developing a desire for material gain, bribery, graft and the rule of the "Boss" have resulted.

Until the power of the "Boss" be broken we can hope for no better condition of affairs in politics.

Leading men recognize this fact and are striving to overcome it through the means of the "Direct Primary."

But even that would not solve the difficulty unless honest citizens attend in numbers to vote at the primaries for the nomination of honorable candidates.

As corrupt politicians appreciate their power might be broken through this agency, the defeat of Ex-Governor Hughes on that issue in New York State was only to be anticipated.

Colonel Roosevelt, than whom no man was ever more popular in this country, in a strenuous effort for civic righteousness could not stem the tide with his almost superhuman strength of purpose, ability and enthusiasm. The career of Governor Sulzer in this respect is of too recent a date to require any comments.

Though the "Direct Primary" has recently been consummated in New York State and also in some others, nevertheless the defects of the system,

as foreseen by some of its advocates, were realized in New York on September 28th, according to an editorial in *The Times* of the following day which read as follows :

"If the direct primary law is to stay on the statute books it is desirable that a big vote be polled at each primary election. If the people are made responsible for the nomination of candidates, then the people should nominate them. They should not be nominated by a small minority in each party, but by at least a majority of the enrolled voters."

"Unless honorable citizens attend the primaries in numbers, then the nominations will be made by a small body of well-trained men acting under orders, and we shall be back where we were before and a considerable distance further."

Men are called upon by the law to defend their country in time of war by enlisting as soldiers in the army. And in time of peace their obligations to the state should be equally exacting. So men should also be called upon by the law to attend the primaries, where candidates are nominated, in whose hands the destinies of the nation are to be placed, and subsequently they should be obliged to vote at the elections.

In accordance with this principle an able attorney in New York City considers it consistent

and practicable that a law be drafted, to be enacted by the legislature, compelling every male citizen to attend the primaries, and to vote at the elections, under force of a penalty that would be decided upon as appropriate. In framing such a law it would, of course, be necessary to provide for certain conditions, such as the distance of the voter from his place of registration at the time of election.

But in any carefully drafted "Bill," various complications must always be considered and overcome. As a large majority of American men are upright and honest in purpose, the result would be a purification of politics without the existing struggle with the political "Bosses."

Overcoming evil with right doing is always better than open resistance to it.

It is stated by Plato that the great lawgiver Solon framed a law that declared a man to be "infamous who stood neutral in time of sedition."

Would it not be wiser, at the present day, to frame a law declaring in effect that a man be culpable who stands neutral in time of peace, regarding the destinies of his country, by remaining away from the primaries and by refraining from voting at the elections?

The principle would certainly have a strong precedent, for the destinies of the nation are as

important in time of peace as in that of war, and Solon stands among the greatest of all lawgivers.

In order better to meet the situation, a movement might be organized among existing Civic Federations to work together with this object in view.

A unification of Civic Federations, along all lines of action, would be impracticable for various reasons.

But a Central Committee consisting of representatives of different Federations throughout the state and country, organized to promote activities in each and all of them, singly and conjointly, for the object of obtaining direct primaries, and also for inducing honest citizens to attend them, would be a powerful factor towards the consummation of purity in politics.

With honorable candidates nominated for office, honesty in politics would be inevitable.

V

SOME EXISTING CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

BEFORE we turn our attention to the consideration of our social liberty it is now advisable to notice some conditions that are existing in countries of the old world. The object obviously is to ascertain if the discontent of the people in them is justifiable now or not.

In Russia, religious intolerance is so great, even at the present day, that a new edict was issued not long ago expelling 120,000 Jews from that land, 90,000 of whom declared their intention of coming to our shores.

The persecutions of this unfortunate race, and the expulsion of political transgressors to the prisons of Siberia, combined with other political and industrial conditions, have created such a scandal throughout the world that it is necessary only to mention them to convince the reader of the validity of many of the claims of the people in that land.

The liberation of the serfs by the Czar, Alexan-

der II, in 1861, showed a decided step in favor of the interests of the poorer classes. "But until after the war with Japan, the nature of the Slav in the Russian dominated his Christianity, and he was of the East both in government and in ideals.

"Japan, having recruited her national strength under Western ideas, dealt the sleeping civilization of the Russians a terrible blow that made them start to their feet, open their eyes and spring forward with a determined endeavor to hold their own among the civilized nations of the day. Wounded pride has accomplished more for them than have the cries of their downtrodden people or the death-stabs of Anarchists.

"But a few years after the close of the war with Japan, Russia is now boasting of an industrial development that her enthusiasts term a 'new America.'

"The very aspect of her cities is changing, departmental stores and twentieth century conveniences being found everywhere. But automatic machinery brought chiefly from America has largely destroyed the village industries. This condition throws many out of work, and consequently the power of the employer in factories is greater than ever, for the strength of strikes is broken by the hungry unemployed who fill any position to

satisfy the necessities of life. But on the other hand 110,000 more persons in Russia are employed in factories than formerly."

To turn our attention to some of the sociological conditions in thrifty, prosperous Holland, the oppression of wealthy land holders has driven 15,000 of her sturdy workers to our shores to start new colonies in the West.

As these emigrants are of the type that will make desirable citizens anywhere they are being cordially welcomed here.

In conservative England, one of the best governed countries in the world, the spectacle has been amazing of the House of Lords, composed of representatives of leading families in the realm, shaken to its foundations because the members have not wished their domains taxed according to valuations of the present day, while their poor tenants were being charged the latest rentals.

Another instance of injustice and oppression by the more powerful man over the poor one.

In fact, in Spain, Portugal and all the countries of Europe (without mentioning Turkey) where our Western civilization is so lauded, we still see marks of the heel of oppression of the stronger upon the weaker brother.

In Germany, one of the most enlightened coun-

tries in the world, the voice of an intelligent, well educated people is being heard.

The cities are well built and artistically developed; the laws are respected and well executed; education, science, music and the various arts are studiously pursued; while commercially the Germans rank among the leading nations of the world.

But the fundamental principle for which mankind is struggling is lacking there, this being the right of a man to rise to the position of his brother.

Intelligent Germans recognize that no matter how successful may be their efforts, the social laws of Germany keep them in the same position, except in unusual cases. So thousands of them have been flocking to a land where they are encouraged to rise, even as they are able.

The compulsory military system is also distasteful to a number, as are likewise the industrial methods (fostered by a monarchical form of government) that have been putting the wealth of the country into the hands of a few in the form of Syndicates.

But still another cause of discontent is making itself felt in Germany, reference being made to the inequality of material conditions existing among men, which is bespoken there by the large number of Socialist voters.

48 THE POWER TO RIGHT OUR WRONGS

This form of dissatisfaction, however, is not confined to Germany, but exists to a greater or lesser degree in every nation of the globe.

To revert again to our own country, Socialism, which embodies discontent with material as well as other conditions, has not taken the same hold here, at least proportionately, as elsewhere.

The causes for this are varied, one of them unquestionably being that wages in general are higher here than in other lands. But from the mouths of the poor themselves the riches of multi-millionaires flaunted before their eyes, and in the pages of nearly all journals, cause them to believe they are entitled to a larger share of the profits of the industries that their labor is helping to create. A remedy for this aspect of the Labor question, founded on successful sporadic efforts, will be dwelt upon at length in subsequent pages. Fortunately a number of our multi-millionaires are trying to help the poor in solving the problems that will place them in better material conditions without recourse to charity. So many, who are well off in this world's goods, do not seem to appreciate that the self-respecting poor man has a great aversion to receiving charity. And he is struggling now solely for his just share in the proceeds of all enterprises.

But injustice may be done to the rich man as

well as to the poor, and those foreigners who come to our shores and compare the lives of our multi-millionaires and their excesses with those of the old Roman Empire might better study more comprehensively the history of that period before again making any such unfounded and foolish statements.

It is true that here, as in other countries, persons who are sated with wealth are given to profligacy and a foolish squandering of money which is a means of creating greater discontent among the poor. Such conduct, however, condemns itself, here as elsewhere, with persons of any stability of character without further words of denunciation. But for the reason that many multi-millionaires continue in business affairs, throughout their entire lives in this country, the inference might justly be made that busy men are not as given to profligacy as are those of prominent positions in life in other lands who live on their income without any occupation.

As proof that the notorious lives of some of our people have not, as yet, degenerated to the standards of some of the effete aristocracy and even royalty of the old world, the numerous divorces among them, undesirable as they are, nevertheless are a strong protest on their part against the im-

moral conditions that are tolerated elsewhere. But fortunately in every land notorious lives are the "exceptions" and are not "the rule."

It is undeniable that our boasted liberty is being betrayed into the hands of industrial magnates, who are fast controlling all our industries. But this situation is being so ably dealt with by our government that small enterprises in the future will not run the same danger of suppression and of extinction.

In a word, no other government on the face of the globe is as vigorously assailing the power of syndicates as is our own. And probably no two men have ever attempted to conquer such a powerful combination of industrial magnates as have ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, to whom even their opponents should give due appreciation for their courage and their herculean efforts.

Americans, as a people, are right-minded, in whom great confidence should be placed; for the unimpeachable testimony of the past has demonstrated that any evil arising in the land to a great magnitude invariably has been suppressed. At the present day this is being shown by the wonderful work accomplished by the Anti-Saloon League. In one year over 11,000 saloons were closed throughout the land, and seventy two per cent. of the

area of the land is now "dry" territory. The determined zeal with which Americans combat existing evil is an encouraging inference for the future suppression of the divorce and the political problems, with which the people already are endeavoring to cope.

VI

SOCIALISM

ECONOMIC conditions in Christian lands have been developing slowly in favor of the poor.

Heathen religions and "Man's inconsideration of man" have been largely responsible for the existing inequalities.

But in Germany, with 3,258,968 Socialist voters, it is evident that many of the people are convincing themselves that Socialism will solve the question of unequal material circumstances.

To show to what an extent these opinions are growing throughout the world, the following report is submitted to the attention of the reader:

THE SOCIALIST VOTE

A Socialist authority, W. J. Ghent, has compiled the following table of the latest returns of the Socialist vote in various countries, and the number of Socialist members of the popular branches of the national parliaments. The countries are ranked

according to the proportion of Socialist deputies to the total number.¹

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Deputies</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>	<i>Vote</i>
Finland 1911	87 (200)	43.50	321,000
Sweden 1908	36 (165)	21.81	75,000
Belgium 1910	35 (166)	21.08	483,241
Denmark 1910	24 (144)	21.06	98,721
Luxemburg 1909	10 (48)	20.83	
Austria 1907	88 (516)	17.06	1,041,948
Germany 1907-10	52 (397)	13.10	3,258,968
France 1910	76 (584)	13.01	1,106,047
Norway 1907	11 (123)	8.94	90,000
Italy 1909	42 (508)	8.26	338,885
Holland 1909	7 (100)	8.26	82,494
Great Britain, Dec. . 1910	42 (670)	6.27	370,802
Switzerland 1908	7 (170)	4.11	100,000
Russia	17 (442)	3.82	
Turkey 1908	5 (196)	3.06	
Greece 1910	4 (207)	1.93	
Servia 1908	1 (160)	.62	3,056
United States 1912	1 (435)	.25	684,432
Spain 1910	1 (404)	.25	40,000
Bulgaria 1908	(189)		13,360
Argentina 1908	(120)		5,000

The Socialist vote in the United States given is an estimate. The actual combined vote for the two Socialist candidates for President in 1908 was 434,018.

Because of its growth persons seriously interested in the cause of the poor could hardly fail to make a study of the principles of Socialism in order to determine whether or not it is a "Promise or a Menace."

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1913.

To be as exact as possible regarding its principles, as set forth by its leaders and party organs, the writer has quoted in nearly every instance the names of authorities, with their verbatim statements.

Though some Christians number themselves among the ranks of Socialists, nevertheless the dominating element consists of Atheists. These latter are virulent in their attacks upon Christianity and are using their efforts to turn as many as possible against the teachings of Christ.

That these statements are not exaggerated will be seen from the following quotations, taken from "Socialism from the Christian Standpoint":

"It was the boast of Marx that Socialism would deliver men's conscience from what he called the 'spectre of religion.'"

"John Spargo says, 'The founders of modern Socialism took the dogmas of Christianity at that time, and held them up to intellectual scorn—a task by no means arduous.'"

"'In what sense Socialism is not religion,' writes Balfort Bax ('Socialism and Religion'), 'is clear, it utterly despises the "other world" with all its stage properties. The Socialist whose "social creed" is his only religion requires no travesty of

¹ Spargo, "Spiritual Significance of Modern Socialism," p. 86.

Christian rites to aid him in keeping his ideal before him.'

" 'We have simply done with God,' cried Marx's henchman, Engels.

" 'We must face and wipe out,' shouts another, 'those two curses, Capitalism and Christianity.' 'Until that can be done nothing can be done,' avows Dr. Aveling, the 'free' husband of Marx's daughter.

" Individual Socialists will rise up exclaiming 'Nous avons changé tout cela.' Let them protest; they do not count. The men who count in this movement are men like Bebel, 'one of the greatest powers of Europe,' Mr. Hunter calls him. Bebel will answer clearly and definitely, 'Christianity and Socialism stand towards each other as fire and water.'

" I want you to observe that Bebel is not here professing his own disbelief in Christianity: on the contrary, he is speaking on behalf of Socialism itself.

" Liebknecht, whose influence is only a little short of Bebel's, has proclaimed, from the house-tops, that the duty of Socialists, as Socialists, is to root out faith in God, or to borrow his own language, he tells the world that 'No one is worthy of the name of Socialist who does not consecrate himself to the spread of Atheism.'

"Schäffle has reminded us that 'Social Democracy has avowed Atheism to be its religion.'

"I might continue quotations citing leading Socialists on both sides of the Atlantic, proving up to the hilt that the Socialism which is not busying itself with undermining the very foundation of all belief in revealed religion is only a diluted Socialism. . . . I shall be told, of course, that the more modern Socialism has cleared itself of anti-Christian tendencies, that it stands neither for nor against religious principles. In answer to these assertions let me refer to a passage from *The Comrade*, New York, 1903: 'How often do we see quoted in our own press that familiar fallacy that the ethics of Christianity and Socialism are identical. It is not true. Socialism as an ethical interpretation itself is far removed from Christianity and is of infinitely greater beauty and worth.'

"Let us now turn to Ferri, a leading Italian Socialist. 'In common with most Marxian Socialists,' writes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, 'Ferri attacks religion and capitalism, marriage (as we know it), and private property as the means of production in the same breath.'

"To quote again from Ferri's words, 'Socialism . . . tends to substitute itself for religion . . . that the absence or lessening the belief in God

is one of the most powerful factors in its extension.'¹

"Again, Prof. Karl Pearson, a leading English Socialist philosopher, writes as follows: 'Socialism is based upon a conception of morality differing in toto from the current Christian ideal which it does not hesitate to call anti-social and immoral. . . . Can a greater gulf be imagined than really exists between current Christianity and the Socialist code?'²

"'Modern Socialism,' wrote Henry George, 'is without religion and its tendency is atheistic.'³

"The Berlin *Vorwärts* reminds its readers that 'we believe in no Redeemer, but we believe in redemption. . . . Only humanity itself, only laboring humanity, can save humanity.'

"The New York *Volkszeitung* speaks much on the same lines. 'We do not believe,' it writes, 'in the Saviour of the Christians. Our Saviour will come in the world redeeming principle of Socialism.'⁴ Blatchford is at pains to tell us that 'the whole of this old Christian doctrine is a mass of error. There was no Creator.'

¹ "Socialism and Positive Science," p. 49.

² "The Ethics of Free Thought," pp. 318-319.

³ "Science of Political Economy," p. 198.

⁴ "Socialism," p. 221.

“ ‘Christianity and tyranny,’ according to the teachings of *The Comrade*, New York, 1903, ‘are and for ages have been firmly allied. There is no wrong which has not been justified by Christianity. Its very basis is a lie and a denial of the basic principle of Socialism.’

“ The *Sozial Demokrat* sums up the situation by saying, ‘Christianity is the greatest enemy of Socialism. When God is expelled from human brains . . . when the Heaven above appears nothing more than an immense falsehood men will seek to create for themselves a Heaven below.’

“ If we turn from the acknowledged leaders and students of Socialism we find the anti-Christian spirit rampant. We find resolutions passed threatening expulsion to any comrade who supports positive religion. Madrid, September, 1892.

“ There is no getting away from the fact that Socialism is a going concern, is essentially anti-Christian.”

In an extract from a leading journal recently handed the writer, the following appeared. It is quoted because the authorities are given and the sentiments concur with those ascribed in general to Socialism. “ ‘The origin of the family with the transformation of the means of production into collective property, the monogamous family ceases to

be the economic unity of society ; the private household changes into social industry, the care and education of children become a public matter ; society cares for all children, legal and illegal ' (Frederick Engels).

" I now quote from the *Communist Manifesto*, one of the leading authorities on Socialism : ' On what foundation is the present family based ? On capital and private gain. In its completely developed form the family exists only among the bourgeois. This family will vanish as a matter of course, when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.'

" August Bebel again may be quoted as having said, ' I am firmly convinced that the study of Socialism finally leads to Atheism.' "

Capitalism is an evolution of the centuries. In " Socialism from the Christian Standpoint " it is stated : " In the absence of a public control of property, private control was necessary. A necessity justifies itself ; hence capitalism is vindicated of the charge of injustice." Nevertheless it is far from the Christian standard, and no one with any fairness of mind will fail to regret its many defects as it still exists.

Fortunately a system embodying the Christian principle of considering alike the rights of all per-

sons concerned in industrial affairs is now being developed.

But Capitalism which is justified by the necessities of the centuries should remain until a better and a more just system be evolved practically to succeed it. This implies one that would be practical in its workings and not set aside the established rights of those who have acquired property honestly.

And from the standpoint of the Christian all should oppose any effort that would tend to undermine Christianity.

Several reasons will now be given to prove that Socialists have no legal nor equitable claim upon private property. The writer once heard a Socialist speaker in addressing an audience composed of them state with vehemence, "I must drive it home that the factories should belong to us." Instances will also be given to show the impracticability of the governmental manipulation of utilities, owing to the existence of graft and also other conditions.

In the first place property honestly acquired, under a system justified by necessities in the social evolution of mankind, should be held according to the discretion of the owner ; secondly, the attitude of the laborer himself, at the present day, makes

him an upholder of capitalism by serving it, especially as his services, for some time past, have been, and still are, optional ; thirdly, by agreeing with the capitalist for a stated wage as remuneration for his services rendered, he has no further claims for them.

Furthermore, Socialists might have developed industries according to their theories, even as Capitalists have built up theirs, especially as the majority of such utilities in this country were started less than a century ago.

Or again, Socialists might have founded one or more commonwealths of their own to evolve their theories and to work for one another, in order to be true to their principles, instead of serving Capitalism, of which they so strongly disapprove.

Moreover, as a large number of property holders in this country started with no capital at all, another reason exists why it has been unnecessary for Socialists to have accepted employment from Capitalists. So they have neither legal nor just claims upon the property of honest persons ; nor morally should they turn their hands against those who are providing them with the sustenance of life.

As Christians throughout the ages have endured all sorts of hardship, torture and even martyrdom itself, to be true to their principles, the spectacle is remarkable of Socialists working for Capitalism

of which they so strenuously disapprove. It is well to emphasize that this condition is accentuated as it is unnecessary.

As a very large majority of laborers are not Socialists, Capitalists have not been dependent upon the labor of the latter for their success.

Without leaders nothing human has ever progressed. This has been an invariable rule. Capitalists have been the leaders or the brains in the struggle for human existence ; their money has been the means or the machinery, and labor has been the motive power. One could not have progressed without the help of the other. Capitalists have had the responsibility, the worry, that kills ; most laborers now work eight hours per diem ; Capitalists often far into the night.

Should the Capitalist fail to give the laborer his stated wages he would lay himself open to legal conviction ; but the Socialist claims that the laborer should not keep to the agreement he has made for a stated wage for services rendered.

Moreover, brain work is the most fatiguing of all labor ; so Socialism teaches a disregard of the rights of the man who, in reality, has worked the hardest of any.

Capitalism has its serious defects, but it allows every man to rise according to his ability, whereas

Socialism would drag down the man who has risen, or is capable of doing so, to the level of the one of less ability.

As many Socialist leaders strongly assail Christianity, let us now consider the respective teachings of each regarding the unselfish development of character and for the general uplift of humanity.

Christianity teaches a consideration of the rights of all men. "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you."

Socialism teaches its followers to control the government in order to acquire the property of Capitalists. (See Socialists' Platform, Indianapolis, May 16, 1912, also bill introduced into Congress by Victor Berger, quoted later in these pages.)

Christianity teaches the making of personal sacrifices for the good of humanity. "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends." Christ sacrificed His for mankind, and "The blood of the martyrs has been the seed of the Church."

Socialism teaches the governmental acquisition of Capitalists' property rather than making the personal sacrifice of starting a commonwealth to develop their theories. Yet many realize that a revolution would result were an attempt made to take the property of Capitalists.

Christianity teaches to avoid whatever is wrong. "Abhor that which is evil ; cleave to that which is good."

Socialists approve working for Capitalism of which they strongly disapprove, so long as it be profitable to them.

Christianity teaches befriending the poor in all aspects of life. "Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low degree." And Christ chose His closest associates from among the poor.

Socialism also befriends the poor, but inconsistently it is assailing Christ's teachings, which have been the greatest power in life in uplifting them. If followed two thousand years ago, the "brotherhood of man" would then have been established, and untold sufferings would have been averted.

Capitalism does not represent Christian doctrines ; but Christianity has been the "leaven in the lump" raising "man's inconsideration of man" to a higher standard of life in Christian nations. And nowhere are the poor considered as they are among Christian peoples.

In spite of the selfish opposition of men's hearts, the true Christian principle of considering the rights of all men in industrial affairs has gradually been evolved through the centuries ; and it is now on the

threshold of being consummated. Details of this system will be set forth later on in these pages. It is mentioned at this period as it is in opposition to the Socialist principle of disregarding the rights of honest property holders.

It is well to look history squarely in the face ; for ability and energy have always ruled. After the people had struggled for their rights during the horrors of the French Revolution, one man, Napoleon the First, dominated the whole French nation and established an empire.

But the world has so advanced under Christ's teachings that leaders in all enterprises have learned that the just claims of all persons should and must be respected. As ability will always lead, the true Christian principle to be followed is that of awakening alike employers and the employed to the realization that the rights of each should be upheld. Fortunately this standard has been tested and found to be practical and efficacious for the good, both of the employer and the employee.

Had Christ's principles been followed in economic conditions two thousand years ago, poverty, as it has existed, would not have saddened the world, and untold misery and suffering might thus have been averted.

In a letter the writer received recently from a

Socialist he made the following statement: "Since the workers have created all the civilization that now is they see no reason for abandoning their present activities to start new ones, and that they will rather take over full control of what they now produce."

As the writer was an American, from the standpoint of this nation only a very small minority of the workers are Socialists; so they cannot claim to have created much of the civilization here.

Of course they should not make this claim in the name of other laborers who are not Socialists, as every man in a free country is entitled to make his own decision. And other laborers are not making the same claim upon property as are Socialists, unless, perhaps, it be Syndicalists. If they have done this in the name of other laborers, then it is one of the most arbitrary projects in modern annals, and thoroughly out of place in a free country. And yet, apparently, this must have been the case, for when their party platform was drafted in May 16, 1912, only about 434,018 Socialist voters were living in this country.

Yet these voters assumed in their working program "As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight, for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Coöperative Commonwealth, and

to increase its power of resistance against Capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program :

“Collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large scale industries.

“The collective ownership of all land wherever practicable and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation and exploitation.

“The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.”

As no Socialist could prove that they have created this wealth, and not being able to make any claims upon it in the name of other laborers, from their own standpoint of claiming what they have created, their demands are illegal, invalid and inconsistent.

They also demanded in their party platform “the immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock-yards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies in order to reduce the exorbitant price of living: the extension of the

public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.”¹ Besides these demands many others were also made. It is well to reiterate here that these stupendous claims were made by 434,018 Socialists in 1912.

But it must not be forgotten that some Christians count themselves among the number of Socialists. And if they would follow the example of their Master in the unselfish development of principle by establishing a commonwealth, supposedly in an unpopulous country, to work out their theories, at their own risk, in order to follow His teachings that the rights of all should be respected and that property should not be taken away from some, nor jeopardized for the benefit of others without their consent, then under conditions guided by Christian teachings, Socialism, robbed of its disregard of the rights of others, and upholding the sanctity of the marriage bond, might possibly be evolved for the betterment of humanity.

Nearly all movements professedly for the improvement of human beings have some virtue in them. But under any circumstances Socialism would be an experiment, and only those convinced of its efficacy should incur its risks.

It will be clear from the following statements

¹ “World Encyclopedia,” 1913, pp. 698-699.

that the theories of Socialists pertaining to the control of utilities by the government are not reliable ones.

“MORE ‘SOCIALIST’ FIGURES

(Expense and Fatality on French State Owned Railway)

“Paris, February 6th.—Further statistics have been issued by the French Government in regard to the administration of the Western Railway, now incorporated in the State system. The figures offer a valuable lesson on the effects of State Socialism.

“As is usual in transactions of this kind, all sorts of reforms, financial and otherwise, were promised as the result of nationalization, yet the deficit has grown with startling rapidity from year to year.

“‘For the financial year 1909 the loss in working amounted to 38,748,000 francs, the next year this was increased to 58,412,900 francs, and for 1911 it amounted to 69,574,000 francs, or, in round figures, over \$13,500,000. This means that at the same rate of “progress” 83,000,000 francs will represent the loss of the past year (the accounts have not yet been published), while for the current year there will be a deficit of 90,000,000 francs, or \$18,000,000.’

“This loss falls, of course, on the taxpayers. If the working of the railway had been materially improved under government working and owner-

ship, there might be some excuse for these unfortunate financial results, but the reverse is the case.

“In many instances the express trains are timed to take longer on the journey than they did years ago, while the accidents since the acquisition by the State have made these lines notorious. In fact they have set up a record for fatalities which is unique in Europe.”

This same point in our argument will be shown again by the report of Commissioner Raymond R. Fosdick of the city of New York.

“According to Commissioner of Accounts, Raymond B. Fosdick, who turned in a report to Mayor Gaynor of New York City, the municipal ownership of ferries in the city is a money loser. The report deals with the city’s operations of the Staten Island ferry since October 25, 1905, when the city took it over.

“The net loss to the city for operating the ferry over six years until December 31, 1911, was \$4,450,669 or nearly fifty-eight per cent. of the entire tax levy of the borough of Richmond for the same period. The city’s loss on the Staten Island ferry proper, coupled with the loss on what is known as the Thirty-ninth Street Division, a Brooklyn ferry, has been \$6,625,000, or an average

of \$2,934 a day. The city's handling of the Staten Island ferry, Commissioner Fosdick points out, was the first comprehensive experiment in municipal ownership."

In "Socialism from the Christian Standpoint," page 274, further accounts are also given of the results of Socialist experiments.

"In Switzerland and Italy, in Australia and New Zealand, not to lengthen the list, have not railway systems, owned and operated by the government, been financial failures? They know nothing of the success of the railway ventures in the United States. If Socialists urge that the state railways of Germany at any rate are worked at a profit, I will remind them that they charge an average freight rate about double that of the United States. We are assured that if the railway in the States were government property worked on German lines they would cost the country four million a day more than they do at present. Finally observe this, that the state-owned iron road known as the Western Railway of France has the reputation of being the worst managed in Europe."

"Our railroads carry for one dollar the same load of freight for which two dollars and in some cases three dollars is charged in other countries.

"Yet our railroads pay for labor from two to

three times as high a price as is paid in foreign countries."

The practical advantages of private ownership are forcibly shown by figures; in referring to the subject of the governmental control of railroads in other countries, "Investigation of the diversion of public money for personal needs revealed the greatest irregularities." As graft in all political or governmental enterprises is one of the crying evils of the day, the control of all utilities by the government would present an unparalleled opportunity for perverting public money for private purposes.

"The enormous sums expended on the erection of two of our state capitols present a striking example of the methods that might be employed by the government were all industries under such control.

"If we take our railroads alone into consideration without the acquisition of all other industries, it has been estimated that it would cost the government \$14,000,000,000 to purchase them.

"This sum is six times as great as the national debt created by the Civil War, which lowered the credit of the country to such an extent that \$2.75 in greenbacks would buy but one dollar of gold, and government bonds were sold for fifty cents on the dollar."¹

¹ "Progress and Prosperity," p. 619.

Because of the foregoing statement, any person with a practical mind might legitimately inquire if the demands of the Socialists in their party platform of 1912 would not sink the country in insupportable debt and an irretrievable loss of credit? If it would require \$14,000,000,000 to purchase the railroads alone, the sum is beyond any practical realization that would be necessary to acquire, as Socialists demand, the collective ownership of the utilities already enumerated.

As such claims would be maintained in the name of the Government or Municipality, it would now be well to study the report of the Bureau created in New York City to discover the leaks in the city's disbursements. The figures were obtained for legal evidence and are incontrovertible. They may be found summarized in "Progress and Prosperity," pages 625-628.

"Cleaning the city buildings, 1902-1907, cost \$149,000 per annum. The American House and Window Cleaning Company offered to do the same work for \$43,000, a saving of \$106,000 on \$149,000.

"At the Bronx Borough Hall, at 177th Street and Third Avenue, the cleaners found that by hard work each could only clean one and a half moderate sized offices per day. The cost amounted to \$378 per room per annum. The yearly cost of cleaning the

building was \$19,707, although responsible parties offered to do the same work for \$1,800.

“In the matter of school supplies, even buying at retail, instead of using the city’s methods, would have effected a saving of \$633,000 out of \$1,800,000.

“A certain farm was purchased for the horses of the mounted police squad in New York. It consisted of twenty-two and a half acres near Flushing. On September 23, 1906, it sold for \$22,125. On November 2, 1906, it was sold to the city for \$105,000, or \$13,000 profit in forty days.

“Stands rented out by the city which have been going to political favorites for \$1,200 a year, were found to be worth \$8,400 a year when put up for public letting. Claremont, a building in one of New York City’s parks, some years ago paid \$6,300 a year; and at the time of the report was bringing in only \$2,400, though its restaurant probably takes in as much as like institutions in the city paying private owners from \$15,000 to \$30,000 a year rent.

“The city paid out in a single year \$60,000,000 for wages; and her Controller said that a fourth or a third of the departmental force could have been cut off, and from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 thus saved to the taxpayers.

“This sum is enough to pay the interest on half the city's debt.

“The tenement house department has set out to eliminate dark rooms. It is said that at the present rate of progress, although there is a large force, eighty-nine years will be necessary to complete the task.

“In a recent year when the receipts of the United States Government were \$665,000,306, of which it spent \$578,000,000 for operation, the receipts of the city of New York were \$326,000,000, although it spent \$328,000,000, causing a deficit of \$2,000,000.

“Though many other instances might be given of the misuse of public departments, the whole story may perhaps be best summed up by an examination of the record of corporate stock issued, showing the increase in public debt. For the two years or twenty-four months of 1904 and 1905, the increase would aggregate \$44,000,000. For the first three months it amounted to \$40,000. In fact the total bonded debt of the city of New York is two-thirds as great as is the national debt.”

It will be well to remind the reader at this juncture that Socialists in their party platform demanded the immediate acquirement by municipalities of many utilities.

And New York is not the only example that could be given to show how grossly private property might be perverted to the use of others if in the control of municipalities; as San Francisco, Chicago, St. Louis and other cities unfortunately are in the same category with New York.

Then again, the bribery scandals in some legislative bodies, and the deficits of many millions recorded in the Western Railway of France, prove that laborers might thus be deprived not only of their earnings, but also of their recourse for help from capitalists who would be eliminated at the will of the Socialists. Under such conditions the position of the laborer under Socialism would be more uncertain than at present under Capitalism.

Let us now consider, in the face of the facts that have just been mentioned, the value of the property that Socialists would jeopardize were they to acquire governmental supremacy in the countries where they are working to do so. While impossible to make an exact estimate of these figures, yet at the same time, with their demands that governments should "lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry," a statement of the statistical wealth of leading nations will give an approximate idea of the magnitude of the responsibilities that Socialists seek to assume. It is well to emphasize

that not all of the wealth of the nations but the bulk of it they wish to acquire.

TABLE SHOWING WEALTH OF NATIONS THAT SOCIAL-
ISTS SEEK TO CONTROL

United States	\$130,000,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland	80,000,000,000
France	65,000,000,000
Germany	60,000,000,000
Russia	40,000,000,000
Austria and Hungary	25,000,000,000
Italy	20,000,000,000
Belgium	9,000,000,000
Spain	5,400,000,000
Portugal	2,500,000,000
Switzerland	2,400,000,000
Total	\$443,900,000,000 ¹

In the face of such figures it seems advisable to quote the last clause of the National Platform of the Socialist party, May 16, 1912.

“Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from Capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.”

The following bill introduced by Victor L. Berger into Congress will show conclusively the initial efforts that Socialists are making in this country to obtain the control of private utilities :

“The Government shall immediately proceed to

¹ “World Encyclopedia,” 1914, p. 298.

take over the ownership of all the Trusts that control more than forty per cent. of the business of the country. The price to be paid for these industries shall be fixed by a Commission of fifteen experts, whose duty it shall be to determine the actual cash value of the physical properties. Payment for the properties shall be proffered in the form of United States bonds, bearing two per cent. interest, payable in fifty years, and a sinking fund shall be established to retire the bonds at maturity. In the event of the refusal of any Trust owner or owners to sell to the Government his or their properties at the price fixed by the Commission experts, the President of the United States is authorized to use such measures as may be necessary to gain and hold possession of the property. A Bureau of Industries is hereby created within the Department of Commerce and Labor to operate all industries owned by the Government."

The words of Ralph D. Wright will set forth the plan determined upon by Socialists to acquire the control of industries :

"Most Socialists, save the comparatively few extreme conservatives, admit that the general strike will probably be the first stage of revolution proper. By the 'general strike' is meant a more or less general cessation of labor by the workers, during

which the latter will so disorganize Capitalist society as to be able to seize the industries and make them their own."

The same writer affirms that Syndicalists (whose theories are akin to those of Socialists) appreciate that in the event of a revolution the Capitalists would utilize the army, police and detectives to defend themselves. So in order to disintegrate such power they are teaching their followers who are soldiers to shoot their own officers and to desert the army when the crucial moment arrives.

As it is obvious that Capitalists would not give up their property either to Socialists or to Syndicalists without resisting the effort, a plan is clearly being formulated that, if at all successful, would result in the worst revolution of history.

VII

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

IT is now nearly two thousand years since our great Leader chose for His close associates lowly peasants. And it is about a century and a quarter since the founders of our nation declared these ringing words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

Hence it would be advisable for us now to pause and consider to what extent we, as Christians, and also as Americans, have been following their example and precepts. It is true that eloquent statesmen, public speakers and philanthropists all over the country bow in acknowledgment to the tumultuous plaudits of crowded audiences in the advocacy of the "Brotherhood of Man." These are further "signs of the times" that our country is on the threshold of this great era.

Yet how many, think you, of its public advocates and of the crowded audiences that cheer it to the echo can count among their companions whom they receive in their homes either a fisherman, a carpenter, or any one of the so-called "working class."

And yet those who are aware of the poverty of education in former days, especially as it was among women, must appreciate on reflection that the laboring classes of the present day, especially their children, owing to our excellent public schools, are even better educated than were leading families in olden times.

Obviously, then, it is only required of our working class, who have received a thorough public school education, to acquire the polish of manner that is a result of associating with persons of refinement and culture. It is well to emphasize strongly that the laborers to whom reference has just been made are those who have had all the advantages of the free education that our country affords.

To understand better what a large portion of our population this represents, it will be well to quote that in 1912 the number of pupils enrolled in our public schools, without counting those in private ones, was 19,101,147.¹ Unfortunately some of these pupils do not finish the entire course, being obliged to go to work for their living. But, on the other hand, in all of our colleges numbers of poor boys are working their way through academic and professional courses in order to have the benefits of the higher education.

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 598.

As the figures quoted represent only the enrolled pupils in 1912, without mentioning those who have already completed their education, it may justly be estimated that many millions of our working people are kept apart by the upper classes, partly through a lack of understanding this large body of our poor as they really are, and partly owing to the prejudice of centuries.

From personal experience the writer is aware that many of the poorer classes referred to are even more refined in nature than are some personal acquaintances of the "social class" so-called who have abused instead of using their advantages. The latter, however, are an exception to the rule, for refinement and consideration of others have been the fruits of education in Christian countries, which is one point that this article is attempting to show forth.

A tale is told of George IV of England, that at a Masonic meeting one of the members addressed him as "Your Majesty." "No, no!" he replied. "Call me brother George here!"

Why not "Brother" everywhere?

As many have such strong prejudices as to the absolute superiority of the upper classes, it would be well for them to study the reports of societies interested in aiding children to learn what a large

percentage of those who are the offspring even of degenerates develop advantageously in the homes of any grade of society where they may be placed. This is but a demonstration of the Christian idea that education and environment may conquer heredity. If babies from the poorer quarters of the town were placed in the palaces of royalty from whence, in return, some were sent to the tenements of the poor, it would probably be found, in the majority of cases, that the surroundings and education would leave a stronger stamp upon the personality than would heredity, especially with their descendants.

As a convincing proof of these statements an extract from the last report of The Children's Aid Society, regarding foundlings who have been placed in desirable homes, is here given :

NOTEWORTHY CAREERS

Governor of a State	1
Governor of a Territory	1
Members of Congress	2
Judges	4
Justice of Supreme Court	1
Members of State Legislatures	9
Auditor General (State)	1
Mayor	1
Clerk of Senate	1
County Treasurer	1
County Auditors	3
County Recorder	1
County Superintendent of Education	1
County Clerk	1
County Commissioners	3
City Attorney	1

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District Attorneys	2
Business Clerks	465
Bankers	29
Physicians	19
Lawyers	35
Sheriffs	2
Postmasters	9
Army Officers	2
Government Transportation Clerk	1
Railroad Officials	6
Railroad Men	36
Real Estate Agents	10
Journalists	16
Teachers	86
High School Principals	7
Superintendents of Schools	2
College Professors	2
Civil Engineers	3
Clergymen	24
Merchants	23

About 3,500 entered the Army and Navy.

As the term a "Gentleman Farmer" indicates that many men of refinement labor with their hands—and ladies also frequently are obliged to do some or all of their housework—it is obvious that manual labor itself has not degraded the laborer, but rather the lack of opportunity of bettering himself in the past, when oppressed by his stronger brother. Now that the opportunity is being given him he is eagerly improving it. So from the human standpoint it is clear that labor itself has not degraded the working man.

The Divine Edict went forth nearly two thousand years ago: "Let him that is greatest among you be as he that serveth." And our great Teacher ministered to mankind in various ways.

Many instances might be mentioned of poor families who prefer to live in unwholesome and dirty surroundings. Some of them are hopeless. But in a treatise of this nature it would be an impossibility to deal with the exceptions. And it is only the main thread of history and the large majority of our working people who, unquestionably, are attempting to better themselves to whom reference has been made, and for whom an urgent plea is being presented. Some of our working people, unfortunately, are still ground down with poverty, and consequently are obliged to live in unwholesome surroundings, who have in them, nevertheless, a desire for bettering themselves. And later on in these pages some practical suggestions for helping them will be made.

But to speak further of education in this country ; many sons and daughters of the "upper classes" and even of the rich are educated in public schools ; chiefly those living in small cities and in rural districts.

As the children of our working people sit side by side with them, they are practically as well educated as are those socially above them.

As many a rich man has both friends and acquaintances of his own social position in life who find it hard to make both ends meet, obviously

from these facts the difference between him and our educated laborers consists neither in the standard of wealth, nor education nor labor, but, sifted to the bottom, lies rather in the polish of manner and the inherited prejudice of generations.

Unquestionably the miasma of tradition and a lack of genuine interest in the subject have blinded many of our social class to the fact that honest laborers in this country have been lessening the gulf between them and ourselves. So it requires only the lifting of the veil of prejudice and outstretched hands in welcome to span the gulf between us, in order that we may meet on the common ground of the "Brotherhood of Man."

As the first century of the history of our nation stood for religious and political liberty, may we not inaugurate the second as the crowning century of all civilization, when the powerful and the rich in this world's goods shall stand shoulder to shoulder, in friendship, with those who are poor, each trying to serve the other as within him lies. The laborer will serve his employer with greater zeal under such conditions and the estimable rich will endeavor to solve the problems of the employed.

In an excellent article published not long ago in a leading monthly the writer thereof advocated strongly that an effort be made for a better under-

standing between the rich and the poor. And would it be possible better to solve any problem than by following Christ's example towards the latter, which the writer has been endeavoring to demonstrate would strike at the root of sociological difficulties.

Centuries of disregard of His attitude towards the poor have created diseased conditions that will require serious attention many years to come ; but a healthy root for the social system to grow upon would bear healthy fruit in time.

Even the wisest sage cannot foretell the future, but is not an organized effort to solve economic conditions, and real friendship between the rich and the poor preferable to the strikes and revolutions existing to-day in many lands ?

VIII

FURTHER CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

MENTION has already been made in these pages of the betrayal of our industrial liberties into the control of a few men, and fortunately the handling of the situation is proving to be encouraging. But another industrial outlook, unhappily, is less hopeful, at least for the present.

This problem, in fact, will require persistent and strenuous agitation before it can be righted.

It is stated, and without question truthfully so, that wages are higher in this country than in any nation in the world. Yet, on the other hand, the cost of living being much higher here than elsewhere, a greater inroad is made in the wages of the employee, but not sufficiently so in the cases of those who are well paid to reduce them to the condition of those in other countries. It will be advisable in making this statement to call attention to the modifying phrase "in the cases of those who are well paid," for unless the employee be well remunerated, conditions become most distressing.

And it is regarding this situation that we now wish to deal.

Grievous as may be the circumstances of underpaid employees, happily their situation is understood by some persons who are striving to overcome this great wrong.

Americans, as a rule, are somewhat apathetic to any cry of "low wages" in this country, owing to the prevailing opinion, as already stated, regarding wages being higher here than elsewhere. As this opinion is true in general, the difficulty of arousing public sentiment in favor of some who, nevertheless, are distressingly underpaid is but a greater task. The Consumers' League, in an effort to educate the public as to these conditions, secured a window in a vacant shop on Fourth Avenue for a "démonstration," and it is unfortunate that the vast teeming populace of the city could not have been diverted to that thoroughfare and induced to pause before that window to read the placards and to see the photographs displayed there.

Among them might have been found the following:

On placard, with bunch of artificial violets attached, 3 cents a gross. Daily output, 12 gross. Placard with crocheted pair of bedroom slippers, 40 cents per dozen pairs. Day's work for one woman and three children tying willow feathers, \$2.10.

Worker paid 55 cents a dozen for lining and hand-sewing cravats. Daily earnings, $66\frac{2}{3}$ cents. Work on shirt-waist front, 47 cents, ten hours' work. Infant's dress, 4 cents a yard for feather stitching, 2 cents a yard for French knots. Working day, fourteen to sixteen hours. Earnings 38 cents to 44 cents. Retail price \$5.00. Artificial carnations, 40 cents per hundred. Daily output, one hundred. Daily earnings, 40 cents.

Is it necessary to enumerate any more to awaken the reader to a realization of the hideous injustice done to these patient toilers ?

Some persons living in affluence speak with scorn of the herding together in one room of several families, as well as the foul air and unsanitary conditions. But with the incoming daily wage of thirty-six to sixty-six and two-third cents a day, would it be possible to avoid a congregating together of men, women and children and the breeding of disease, especially tuberculosis that is rampant in crowded tenements.

Oh, the pity of it !

And especially when these poor toilers are no laggards, for they work long hours every day for their God-given rights,—wholesome food, pure air, decent clothing, and sanitary homes, all of which are being deprived them by oppressive employers.

If the reader be interested in the condition of the poor it would be well to study the report of the Consumers' League, as it is promoting an effort to enlighten the public in this respect.

A visit to the Tuberculosis Exhibit should also be of interest, with a view to understanding the necessity of preventing the crowding together of the poor in unsanitary tenements. Stringent laws regarding sanitary conditions, strictly executed, would, in a measure, obviate the difficulty.

But the root of the trouble lies chiefly in the inability to pay for better accommodations. It is little known, unfortunately, that some employers are now obviating the expense of running factories by employing the poor to do their work in their rooms that serve every purpose. From the standpoint of the richer classes alone it would be wise to alter these conditions, for those well informed on the subject affirm that tuberculosis and other diseases are being spread among them from these very tenements.

Fifth Avenue and the "East Side," apparently, are very remote.

But the report of an organization endeavoring to combat the evils just enumerated affirms: "Every member of the family is pressed into service, from the grandparents of eighty years to the babies

of four. Men and women in all stages of sickness are found finishing articles of clothing to the day of their death. These germ-laden garments go in closely-tied bundles from the tenements, without sunning or airing, to the counters from which they are bought."

May not this be one solution to the common expression, "I do not know how so-and-so ever caught such-and-such a malady?"

"At a hearing of the Tenement House Commission of New York City, Dr. Daniel replied, emphatically, when asked if the remedy for tuberculosis were more light and air, 'Yes, and no manufacturing in the tenements. I would emphasize that especially, because I believe it to be a source of great danger, not only to the tenement house people, but also to the people who wear these things. It is the dried tubercle that is most dangerous, and that can be carried in clothing.'"

The report continues further: "Tenement trades are season trades. The workmen receive the lowest of any wages. They earn so little that they have hardly enough to support themselves outside of the rush hours. No one knows how many children are kept at work in the tenements. The season is so short and the wages so low that fourteen hours of work hardly make up the wages of eight or nine

hours' work in the factories. The health of tenement workers is notoriously bad . . . owing to the lack of good air and light and the rush. Disease starts in the tenement, but it does not end there."

Apparently the situation is hopeless, but fortunately it is not so, as efforts are already systematized in numerous organizations to overcome the wage and other problems now confronting the poor.

In a treatise of this scope it will be possible to deal only with some of the most important of these factors.

Left to himself the poor man can accomplish but little in redressing his wrongs, so the outcome has been the formation of Labor Unions. These Unions have accomplished much in raising the standard of wages, shortening the number of hours of work per diem, and in improving sanitary conditions for the poor. The Unions have come to stay, and they will and must exist for some time to come.

But so much has been said and will continue to be dwelt upon by the writer regarding the abuse of power of the stronger and influential man over the poorer one, that it is but just to emphasize that human nature is the same in all walks of life, and when influence is acquired, it is as misused by a person without wealth as it is by one who possesses

it. This will continue to be the case until each awakens to the realization that the rights of both must be equally respected. So it is now but just to set forth the misuse of power by the poor man over the rich one when he in his turn has acquired strength through uniting with others in Labor Unions.

Many strikes, without doubt, have had justifiable causes, and have been legitimately conducted. But, on the other hand, many of the claims have been unreasonable and unjust, and the methods of procedure of the strikers have been most condemnable.

“There is a difference between the Unions: one sticking to a contract, the others breaking their agreements; the difference between national and local leaders: the former inclined to be conservative and careful to maintain the obligations of contract, the local leaders often radical and willing for personal or other reasons to violate their written agreements; and the influence of local leaders upon the animus of their men. The number of strikes fluctuates from year to year but there is no abatement in them. This condition exists in England, Austria, Germany and France, as well as in this and other countries.

“The present industrial condition, marked by

strikes more or less tumultuous in nature, may be said to date from 1876, the Centennial year.

“In 1877 all the big railroads east of the Mississippi were united in a general strike. This was characterized by such violence that President Hayes issued a proclamation that if such conditions did not cease he would proclaim martial law and call for volunteers.

“The Anthracite strike of 1901 was investigated by a Federal Commission. A report submitted by them ran as follows: ‘It is admitted that this disorder and lawlessness were incident to the strike. Its history is stained with a record of riot and bloodshed, culminating in three murders unprovoked save by the fact that two of the victims were asserting their right to work and another, as an officer of the law, was performing his duty in attempting to preserve the peace.’

“Mr. Samuel Vauclain, who has worked his way up in the Baldwin Locomotive Works, made a statement regarding his experiences. It was in brief: ‘We had two strikes; one in 1859 and one in 1911. I don’t recall much about the first one, but the last one was bad. We suddenly found that our shop was unionized. When the Unions came to make demands we firmly told them that we could not recognize them as interferers in the busi-

ness. Well, they struck at our busiest time. They picketed our works; they tried threats and violence. But we won out and have not taken the agitators back. Some of these men had been with us a long time. We always treated them fairly and paid high wages, and I firmly believe most of the men struck contrary to their personal wishes, but were wrought up by the Union agitators.'

"Another aspect of the strike problem was illustrated by an incident connected with the Allis-Chalmers Plant, 1906-1907. The moulders' attorney succeeded in uncovering part of a conspiracy to assault Union men. He started proceedings against the company, and the examination of witnesses disclosed the fact that strike breakers brought to Milwaukee were paid by the detective agency to assault strikers.

"Mr. Mitchell is reported to have said regarding the strikers, 'The amount of violence actually committed is grossly exaggerated, and that which is fairly traceable to the officials of Trades Union is almost infinitesimal;' and Mr. Gompers is also said to have protested that the 'acts of violence were exploited in the press, but the hundreds of acts of peace,—conferences, agreements, etc., were never mentioned.'"¹

¹Samuel P. Orth, *World's Work*, December, 1912.

But the fact still remains that violence does exist during strikes, and the recent McNamara and McManigle revelations have been too strongly imbedded in the public mind ever to erase the conviction that crime has been a factor in the workings of the Labor Unions.

“Another weapon equally as powerful as dynamite, which is utilized by the contestants, is that of ostracism. Men who are not afraid of armed force shrink from the epithet of ‘scab,’ which implies social ostracism from companions, owing to strike breaking. Not only does this boycott fall upon the man himself, but it extends also to his family; and it has even broken marriage engagements.

“On the other hand, the ‘black list’ is the employer’s method of retaliation. It cannot be denied that the present industrial system in general is one of turmoil. One of its aspects has been little dwelt upon—which is, the unfortunate attitude of some professing friends of the poor who persistently refuse to believe established facts unfavorable to them; while others, unreasonable in their loyalty, defend them under all circumstances.”

In reality, it is the part of a true friend to try and dissuade them from crime, violence and kindred deeds practiced in furthering their ends, and to

point out to them methods wherein their cause might be aided without resorting to such means.

But they reply, "This is a labor war, and in time of war acts of violence are always committed."

But the answer to such a statement is very simple and should be forcible. Civilized nations have laws of warfare as they have also those of peace, and civilized persons living in civilized lands must follow such laws or else pay the penalty incurred. Mob violence, dynamiting, murder, destruction of property and kindred offenses that have been proved against some members of the Unions, are contrary to the laws of all civilized nations, and the perpetrators thereof should be punished according to the statutes, as has been done in the past.

Many will argue, nevertheless, that such methods are necessary to accomplish their purposes. On the contrary, it will be proven in following pages from the testimony of practical experience that the Christian principle of considering the just claims of both the employer and the employed has been accomplishing more satisfactory results than have strikes and violence.

IX

SOME INSTANCES WHEREIN CHRISTIAN PEOPLES HAVE FAILED IN THEIR STEWARDSHIP

THE words in this chapter are written with the profoundest regret. Nevertheless in justice to our argument they should not be omitted.

It is better that the failings of Christian peoples and even of the Christian churches be justly assumed, rather than that such attitude be wrongly attributed to the guidance of Christ's precepts. At all events, persons who fail to see the flaws on their own side of a question weaken the strength of their argument.

And in these pages an earnest effort is being made to prove conclusively wherein have lain the fundamental causes contributing both to the debasement as well as to the elevation of the poor.

In preceding as well as in subsequent chapters it has been and will continue to be dwelt upon strongly that the evil in this and in other Christian lands has existed, and still continues to exist, in opposition to the teachings of our religion.

Whereas on the other hand, despite the many elevating precepts of heathen religions, nevertheless some of the greatest wrongs endured by human beings, and especially by women, have been buttressed by their religious doctrines. In order to prove this statement, some of the words of the founders of such religions and of the teachings of their sacred books will be quoted at length in subsequent chapters.

It is advisable now, in order to be just, to emphasize the statement recently made regarding the many "elevating teachings of heathen religions," for unquestionably all religions are an effort on the part of man to approach the Infinite Creator. And because of such aspirations many of their precepts clearly have been elevating, though framed according to the wisdom of man. Their weakness has consisted in the human wisdom of their leaders, such as Confucius, Mahomet and others, whereas the incomparable superiority of Christianity has lain in the divinity of our Guide, even Christ Himself.

But it is not just to judge of the religions of any country either by the secular customs or by the sins of its people, or even by the teachings of the priests, when any such are contrary to the precepts of the founders of the cult and of the codes contained in

their sacred books. To be consistent with this principle, neither should Christianity be censured because of the failings of Christians, nor of the Christian churches, nor even for the instructions of the clergy when any of them are contrary to the teachings of the Bible. Nor should the doctrines of the churches, when contrary to those of the Bible, be taken as a criterion, which is strongly emphasized in St. Mark xv. 9: "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

But the world is composed of nations, all of which follow in general the religious doctrines of different teachers. Some of them, after thousands of years of civilization, still have the heel of oppression upon the poor and also upon women, owing to the system of caste, and to still other teachings. And in pursuance of such religious instructions this condition of affairs would remain forever without the interference of some other power.

Then again we see still other nations forging ahead of those, to which reference has just been made, in educating and uplifting the poor as well as humanity in general. This also includes the assiduous cultivation of all sciences and industries conducive to the development and the advancement of human beings. On turning the pages of the sacred book of these latter nations, the Bible, we find precepts

placing the poor and the rich on the same social footing ; we find women associating circumspectly as companions with men, and their husbands are instructed to love and to care for them even as for themselves, while the advancement of mankind in general is taught along the lines of mutual consideration one for the other.

Then on studying the pages of secular history we see further that the blemishes in our Christian civilization and upon the records of the Christian churches, as well as upon the teachings and the lives of some of the clergy, have been at variance with the teachings of Christ. And it is regarding such blemishes that have existed in the past, some of which have not been entirely blotted out even at the present day, that mention is now made with such deep regret.

But any non-Christian reader, in judging of our argument concerning the beneficent effects of Christianity in upraising the poor and other human beings, would hardly fail to bring forward in opposition thereto the evidence of wrongs that have been and still are practiced among Christian peoples. So it is purely with the motive of proving that such wrongs have been entirely contrary to the precepts of Christ that mention is now made of some of them.

The first point wherein all Christian churches have erred in common, though some have done so to a greater degree than have others, has lain in the persecutions that have been practiced by and among them. This has been done chiefly in their efforts to suppress religious doctrines wherein the opinions of others have differed from their own. These persecutions have represented a mistaken and clearly unchristian zeal to suppress heresy.

The writer is herself a descendant of two martyrs who were the victims of the fanaticism of persons who differed from them in religious dogmas, the first having been John Rogers, who was put to death in England, and the latter was Mary Dyer, who suffered martyrdom on Boston Common. The fanaticism of the age could not be more forcibly shown than by the well-known fact that numbers of our forefathers came to this country that they might enjoy liberty of conscience themselves, and on arriving here they proceeded to persecute those who differed from them in religious convictions.

In Europe the most pronounced of these persecutions were the Inquisition, and the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

Our Bible is claimed to be inspired, and hence sacred, for the reason that in a direct line from the first chapters in Genesis may be traced prophecies

pertaining to the Advent and to the ministry of Christ. These prophecies were fulfilled in His life as set forth in the New Testament. In other words the "Bible may best be considered as either a preparation for, or an exhortation and explanation of, Jesus Christ."¹

Around this thread of sacred revelation contained in the prophecies in the Old Testament was woven the history of the Hebrews, from whom the mother of the Messiah was chosen. In other words the evolution of the Hebrews under the guidance of Jehovah was intermingled with the luminous line of prophecies which were fulfilled in the rise of the "Sun of Righteousness." The failings of the Hebrews as well as their virtues were shown forth without evasion, but throughout the narrative is traced their development under divine guidance. The qualities of character of some of their leaders were, at times, in direct contradiction to the Decalogue itself. But such failings were used as an example for the people to avoid and punishment was awarded for their sins.

Much the same might be said of the evolution of Christian peoples.

Our failings have been in direct contradiction to the teachings of Christ, nor should we try to evade

¹ "The Bible, Its Origin and Nature."

just censure for them, nor merited punishment therefor.

Fortunately under the guidance of Christ's teachings the churches have awakened to the realization that persecutions among them have been clearly wrong and unchristian. And yet this old spirit of intolerance has not entirely died out, for the persecutions of the Jews in Russia is one of the darkest blots on the pages of modern history.

Fortunately Christians throughout the world have strongly decried such treatment, and public protests have been made against it. And no stronger proof could be given to show that most Christians recognize that persecutions are contrary to Christianity than the fact that they have espoused the cause of the unbeliever against the erring believer. It is true that the business methods of many Hebrews have redounded against their popularity as a race, and for having crucified the Son of God they are being punished by being shunned among the nations.

But persecuting them for their sins is widely apart from the teachings of Him who cried aloud in His agony when they were crucifying Him, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

So loud a protest has been made by Christian peoples against massacring Jews in Russia that

such flagrant persecutions probably will be discontinued in the future. But the strong aversion against them there, and the petty persecutions, in all probability will continue for some time to come, as that government is harsh and unchristian in its treatment even of Christian offenders. In order to terminate the sufferings of their people in that land, wealthy Hebrews might well utilize their means by providing them with the wherewithal to migrate to Jerusalem. They are a clever people, and when well educated prosper materially.

But we should never forget wherein we are indebted to them, nor the reasons why they should compel our respect as a race.

In the first place, they were the writers of our Bible, and as such were the torch-bearers of God's truth through the centuries. But above all they were God's chosen people, as the mother of the Messiah was selected from them out of all the nations of the world. Then again the Apostles and many early Christians who are our most revered saints were Hebrews.

All through the Gospels and also the Epistles, the same wonderful spirit of toleration is taught, as is so clearly denoted in Christ's words on the Cross. This will be very evident from a careful perusal of some of the texts :

“I am the least of the apostles that am not meet to be called an apostle because I persecuted the Church of God, but by the grace of God I am what I am ” (1 Cor. xv. 9).

“Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets ” (St. Matt. vii. 12).

“(Who) have persecuted us and they please not God ” (1 Thess. ii. 15).

“Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing ” (1 Cor. xiii. 3).

“Be ye kind to one another even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you ” (Eph. iv. 32).

The foregoing quotations are but a few of the many that might be chosen from the New Testament to show how strongly the spirit of toleration is taught by Christian precepts.

So we should acknowledge with the profoundest regret, in order to be true to our Master, that Christian peoples and Christian churches have erred grievously in the persecutions that they have practiced. As the churches are governed by human beings, it is thus that faults have crept into them.

So we should follow them only in precepts that

are taught in the Bible, if we would be certain that we are doing His bidding.

“Search the Scriptures for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me” (St. John v. 39).

“All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness” (2 Tim. iii. 16).

We must turn now regretfully to another wrong that has been practiced, even in recent years among Christian peoples, which was utterly at variance with Christian teachings. Undesirable as is warfare, nevertheless no nation can justly claim to have taken a more positive stand for principle in its wars, in general, than has our own. And it is only for the maintenance of principle that war ever really could be justified. Our attitude in this respect was clearly shown in the Revolution of 1776, the Civil War, and the recent one against Spain, fought in Cuba. Fortunately our Government is to-day trying to suppress wrong in Mexico without recourse to arms, which it is hoped will prove to be effectual. Similar efforts prior to the wars just mentioned, unfortunately, were unsuccessful.

Slavery was established here during our Colonial days, before our inception as a nation, and as a

Christian people it stands to our credit that we were determined to suppress it, at no matter what the cost. That such a system should have endured so long after the coming of Christ is one of the wrongs that we should be broad minded enough to acknowledge is greatly to our discredit.

Probably most Christian masters were kind to their slaves. That is generally conceded. From the material aspect alone, persons with any wisdom would not injure their own property. It was only the wicked and those lacking in wisdom who ever did so. Nevertheless many issues were involved in a lack of personal liberty beyond the point of consideration from the master, though it is not the intention of the writer to discuss the different aspects of the question, including, among others, the separation of parents and children. Surely no persons on the face of the globe could have been better fitted to hold in bondage another race than were the warm hearted, kindly Southerners of our own land.

But the very foundation of Christ's teachings embodied the imperative commandment to "Love thy neighbor as thyself," which alone struck at the very root of slavery. Over and over again in different words and in different places this same sentiment is reiterated in His teachings.

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets" (St. Matt. vii. 12).

"And the servant abideth not in the house forever" (St. John vii. 35).

"The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master and the servant as his lord" (St. Matt. x. 24-25).

The "Age of Chivalry" was a development of Christian ideas. This was consummated many centuries ago, when the ruling spirit of the "knyghte," as expressed in warfare and in other walks of life, became that of emulating the graces of his "ladye" by achieving all in her name. A knot of ribbon tied to his lance or worn on his person, usually a gift from the "fayre" one, indicated that his contests were made in the name of her whom he chose as his "ladye." Minstrels, wandering bards and gifted poets were unceasing in their praises of the charms and of the virtues of the fair sex. Women were placed on a pedestal to be admired and courted by men.

In Christian countries this spirit became generally prevalent. It was an evolution of the teachings of Christianity that had slowly percolated the mass of heathen thought regarding the position of women.

All persons, more or less, are influenced by environment, and during the early ages the Church unquestionably was affected by prevailing ideas, even those that were in opposition to the teachings of Christ Himself. No stronger demonstration could be given of this condition than was found in the attitude towards women even of some of the ascetic fathers of the Church, who looked upon them as wicked creatures to be avoided by men.

So the Christian attitude towards women was retarded even by some of the leading Christians of those times. But the power of the Gospel proved stronger than their influence and Christian "Knyghtes" eventually rode forth under the standard of the "Fayre Sex" that man's inconsideration and heathen religions had subjugated for centuries.

The teachings of Christianity, as contained in the Bible, regarding the position of women are very clear and simple.

A man should consider and love his wife even as himself.

But in every establishment a head is necessary, and this responsibility was given to the man, who also was appointed to be the bread winner, while the woman was told to "guide the home."

But only in accordance with her conscience, under Christian precepts, should a woman submit to the

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decisive wishes of her husband when they were at variance.

It was also taught that the consideration should be mutual between them.

That women should associate freely and circumspectly with men was shown in many instances in the New Testament.

"Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the Church and gave himself for it" (Eph. v. 25).

"So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies" (Eph. v. 28).

"For the husband is head of the wife, even as Christ is head of the Church" (Eph. v. 23).

"Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as it is fit in the Lord" (Col. iii. 18).

"Submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of God" (Eph. v. 21).

"I will therefore that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house" (1 Tim. v. 14).

"And when the fullness of time was come God sent forth his Son made of a woman, made under the law" (Gal. iv. 4).

"They all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus and with his brethren" (Acts i. 14).

The great danger at the present day in regard to the position of women lies in the fact that a number of them do not seem to realize that both nature and religion have clearly indicated special duties for each sex.

No greater mistake could possibly have been made, in any respect whatsoever, than has been perpetrated in the subjugation of women.

As the moulders of character in children, and hence the formers of the destinies of all nations, obviously they should be developed, mentally, morally, physically and spiritually, to the highest possible standard.

Such education, however, would not imply following the same curriculum as is laid out for men.

On the contrary, irrespective of the vocation indicated by nature and by religion alike for women, it is now being proven by science also, in various branches, that specialization is producing the best results. So it may clearly be deduced that men and women should be well educated for their distinctive requirements.

At present, another question vitally concerning humanity, wherein many are at fault, is in regard to the attitude towards the poor.

Reference has frequently been made in these pages concerning the example of Christ in this respect.

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But similar to the conduct of the Hebrews, which in many ways did not attain the standard imposed by the commandments of Jehovah, so have Christians also been negligent in following the instructions of the Master.

But it is not right that the aspersions of Socialists, different laborers and those of other persons be allowed to continue without endeavoring to make very clear that Christ's example towards the poor has not yet been consummated by the generality of Christians.

One man whom the writer knew personally had stopped going to church because of the lack of interest in the material welfare of the laborer of which he complained. Yet he was so open to reason that only one conversation with him was convincing, that existing conditions were not such as they were intended to be, and that many earnest Christians were working to alter them. He subsequently became a regular attendant, with his two children, at the church services.

The laborer wants more than almsgiving from the churches regarding their material conditions. The lack of such interest until recently, without doubt, has led many to join the ranks of Socialists, and finally to Atheism.

But fortunately within the last few years all the

churches have awakened to the understanding that "Social Service" is one of the most imperative of their requirements, and they are now earnestly seeking to solve the problems of labor.

But to go farther to the root of the trouble : how many of the churches are preaching from their pulpits, or in their literature, the necessity of making companions of the poor, even as did Christ ?

Nevertheless this precept is in the air. The "Brotherhood of Man" is talked everywhere.

How soon will it be consummated ?

And what part will the Christian churches take in effecting its realization ?

"And when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men they marvelled ; and they took knowledge of them that they had been with Jesus" (Acts iv. 13).

"And Jesus walking by the Sea of Galilee saw two brethren, Simon called Peter and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea ; for they were fishers. And he said unto them, Follow me and I will make you fishers of men" (St. Matt. iv. 18-19).

"If ye fulfill the royal law according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well. But if ye have respect to persons ye

commit sin and are convinced of the law as transgressors" (James ii. 8-9).

"Your Master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him" (Eph. vi. 9).

"And it came to pass as Jesus sat at meat in the house many publicans and sinners came and sat down with him and his disciples" (St. Matt. ix. 10).

"The disciple is not above his master nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master and the servant as his lord" (St. Matt. x. 24-25).

X

THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

IT is sadly apparent that no Christian nation has ever attained the standard set for all to follow by the Master, in whose teachings they profess to believe.

But it is also noteworthy that those nations that have adhered most clearly to His precepts have been the most prospered of any on the face of the globe.

To give life for the maintenance of principle is a standard accepted by all nations and all religions.

War that is waged otherwise than for true principle is retrogression. Except in rare instances, warfare retards for years the industrial development of nations, especially of the conquered, so that irrespective of the moral standpoint, and purely from a material one, it is a policy obviously questionable to pursue.

As much has been said in this volume regarding the development of Christian nations, the unfortunate and tragic situation existing in Europe to-day

should not be passed over without grave consideration. In order that the truth of the case be thoroughly understood it would be advisable for all to study the official correspondence between the representatives of the Powers involved in this great conflict, regarding the events that led up to its declaration. This correspondence may be found in the English and German *White Papers* and the Russian *Orange Paper*, purported to have been printed by order of their respective governments. Every one would thus be enabled to see the true position primarily as to which governments made sincere and persevering efforts to secure peace; also which ones thwarted such endeavors by refusing to accept propositions made to avert the conflict; as well as those that actually declared warfare.

But fundamentally it should be studied from the sequence and the significance of the events as to whether any or all of those nations are, or are not, fighting for the maintenance of true principle, or whether they are actuated only by material motives.

That the different nations embroiled in this conflict have entered into it for radically different reasons will, without doubt, be noticed by any discerning person.

It is only on the ground of having entered into

it from true principle that we could justify any of them for participating in it at this stage of the world's development.

It is probable that the reader will come to the conclusion, on studying the facts of the case, that some of the nations involved entered into it with the greatest reluctance ; that they made persevering efforts to the last to secure peace, and that they finally decided to take part in it in order to be true to principle. If any ulterior motives existed in framing their decisions, the sequence of events will prove that principle at any rate was the deciding factor in embroiling them at the end.

Such nations should be justified in their attitude.

On the other hand it will be seen without doubt that some of the participants thwarted all the efforts that were made for peace.

For such nations no words of censure can be too strong.

They have been false to Christianity and false to civilization.

Their attitude has been that of retrogression instead of advancement, and from the material aspect they have retarded industrial development for many years,—on the European continent, at all events.

It will be found on a careful study that the crux of the situation was reached on August 1st, and the

position of the Powers was as follows, as will be shown in the correspondence interchanged between their governments.

England had been urging an extension of the time-limit set by Austria (to settle the quarrel between Servia and herself), which endangered the peace of Europe ; so England in consequence thereof had persistently requested that a conference be held to settle peacefully the trouble between these two countries.

But Germany, as an ally of Austria, had objected that the proposed conference was too formal in its nature, so England had urged that Germany herself should suggest the exact conditions thereof. In response to England's continued efforts for peace, Austria finally consented to accept the proposals of Sir Edward Grey, the English Secretary of Foreign Affairs, for mediation between Servia and Austria, though the latter had previously refused proffers of such a nature, and also rejected the proposition for extending the time-limit to the note she had sent Servia regarding their differences, the exactions of which made war practically inevitable, with the probability, which was realized, of involving the great Powers. Austria's army and fleet were the first that were mobilized.

Note 132, English *White Paper*.

Sir Edward Grey to Sir G. Buchanan.

Foreign Office, London, August 1, 1914.

Telegraphic.

"Information reaches me from a most reliable source that Austrian Government has informed German Government, that though the situation has been changed by the mobilization of Russia, they would in full appreciation of the efforts of England for the preservation of peace be ready to consider favorably any proposal for mediation between Austria and Servia."

Germany had likewise been affirming that she had been using all her influence with her ally, Austria, for peace.

On the first of August, England, France, Russia and Austria had agreed to convene a conference for peace of a nature to which Germany had also agreed, and Russia sent the following note to the Powers the same day :

"If Austria consents to stay the march of the troops on Servian territory, and if recognizing that the Austro-Servian conflict has assumed the character of European interest, she admits that the great Powers may examine the satisfaction which Servia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her sovereign rights as a State, and her independence, Russia undertakes to preserve her waiting attitude."

Russia had, however, as an ally of Servia, mobil-

ized part of her troops, as Austria's forces were on a war footing.

The causes contributing to this great conflict undoubtedly were numerous, but the situation had crystallized August first, as just stated, when the climax was reached and the scales were turned in the balance for war by Germany, owing to the partial mobilization of Russian forces; though the attitude of the latter government was clear from her note to the Powers that pledged her to await their decision about the satisfaction to be accorded by Servia.

Note 138, English *White Paper* :

Sir E. Goschen to Sir E. Grey.

Berlin, August 1, 1914.

(German) Secretary of State said . . . "Had not Russia mobilized against Germany, all would be well."

The German and American ideas regarding mobilization are very different, as our army was mobilized along the Mexican border for months without war resulting.

But Germany proceeded to order a general mobilization of all her forces for August 2d; she also sent ultimatums to Russia and to France, and invaded Luxemburg August 2d, while on August 4th news was received that Belgium had likewise been invaded by the Germans.¹

¹ Notes 142, 152, 147, 158, English *White Paper*.

France was an ally by treaty with Russia which drew her into the conflict, but she also agreed to be true to her word to respect the neutrality of Belgium.

Austria started the hostilities against Servia, while Germany's ultimatums to France and to Russia, and her invasions of Luxemburg and of Belgium involved these nations in the war into which England was the last to enter.

England was party to a treaty to respect Belgian neutrality, and she informed the German Government that in case their troops invaded Belgian territory it would involve the English in the trouble.

Germany had also signed the same treaty.

It is well known that German troops did invade Belgian territory, and England was thereby embroiled. Germany now affirms that England, France and Russia caused the war, and "placed the sword" in German hands, and she is equally insistent that she did all in her power for peace.

It is well to let the facts just mentioned speak for themselves, as they are stronger than any comments.

The truth in itself is so distressing in nature that the unkind feelings engendered by it will not be overcome in many years' time, so no invectives should be used that will accentuate such conditions.

All the nations involved in this warfare have done much for civilization and for humanity; so whichever way the sword of battle swings it will be inexpressibly sad that a great people will have been reduced in many respects owing to the insensate decisions of one or more governments.

XI

AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORCE

CIVIC as well as national peace has been maintained in civilized countries for generations by an established police force and by a militia.

Were either or both of these agencies abolished, the safety of citizens would at once be imperilled. Assaults, murders, robberies and every form of violence and of evil would increase and flourish unrestricted until private efforts for safety again crystallized into the formation of a public guard for the protection of citizens, as exists in all countries to-day.

In Greater New York the population on January 1, 1914, was 5,583,871; including Westchester and New Jersey suburbs it was 7,383,871.¹ This latter number represents the maximum population at the given date. And to maintain peace in that great city the police force represents 10,657 members.²

Back of that force stands the militia for the suppression of serious disturbances.

It has now been incorporated as a reserve of the National Army; and in the city of New York, attached to the headquarters and all divisions, are

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, pp. 673.

² *Ibid.*, p. 825.

11,403 officers and men ; while from the last report of the naval militia 1,302 members were enrolled.¹

The total commissioned and enlisted organized militia of all the states is 122,674 in number.² Similar conditions apply, in times of peace, in all the cities and nations of the civilized world. London has numerically a greater police force for its protection than has New York, owing presumably to a larger population.

It is clear then that the world has established the principle that peace must be maintained by organized force.

The history of our own times unfortunately demonstrates that international peace must also be maintained by the same principle.

Most of the civilized nations of the globe united at the Hague to create conditions for the preservation of peace, yet they ignored the principle adopted by all of them for this purpose in their national affairs. And of what have their efforts availed ?

Without doubt the respectable citizens of all cities would be pleased if peace and order might be ensured in their midst by creating a public sentiment favoring it and by drafting laws for that purpose.

But would any serious minded person believe that such efforts would be of real use, owing to the exist-

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 416.

² *Ibid.*, p. 470.

ence of a peace disturbing element, without the strong arm of the police to exert control?

As the great conflicts of the world testify that permanent international peace is quite as difficult to ensure as are the internal affairs of the nations, how is it possible that any can assume that international complications may be fully controlled by sentiment and the law, while they believe that national and civic disturbances necessitate organized force to control them?

The principle is the same in regard to the control of international affairs as it is for national ones, though the solution is obviously more complex in nature.

But the Boxer uprising in China, where peace was enforced by the united efforts of several of the civilized powers, was in reality the solution of the problem.

What was accomplished in one instance by the united efforts of civilized nations in our own times might also be effected again and again in behalf of international peace.

The population of the world at the last census was 1,623,000,000, so that disturbing elements without doubt will always exist in so immense a multitude of persons.¹

It seems then almost an absurdity to argue that

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 63.

international peace may ever be ensured by sentiment and law alone, without the support of armed force, as national and civic peace has been controlled for centuries.

Some peace promoters have been advocating general disarmament for all nations, but is it supposable that England will ever give up her navy or Germany her army, at least during the present generation?

But all civilized nations have recognized the principle that national peace must be maintained by force, and they demonstrated during the Boxer rebellion that they were willing to unite their armaments to enforce it in China.

“As it requires 10,657 policemen backed by a militia of 11,403 officers and men to ensure law and order in a population of about 6,000,000 persons, is it then reasonable to suppose that among the nations of the world comprising a populace of 1,623,000,000, who are divided into different nations, consisting of different races, with different religions, different standards of living and different customs; let us repeat, is it reasonable to believe that peace may be ensured among such a heterogeneous multitude otherwise than by the methods recognized as necessary to maintain it in every civilized city and nation of the globe?

"But the reply may be that the interests of different nations are too varied for them to unite for the formation of an international force for the prevention of warfare.

"The answer to that, however, is found in the fact that they did unite to protect their interests in China, and far greater ones are at stake in warfare than were jeopardized in the Asiatic riots. So it is obvious that it would be wiser for them to unite to protect far-reaching interests, even as they did in behalf of lesser ones.

"If it be contested by some that questions of honor, and possibly other subjects, could not be arbitrated, then let such ones be distinctly specified and serve as the 'exceptions to the general rule.'"

Formerly men considered duelling the legitimate method to settle questions of honor. Now the world has risen to a higher standard in this respect.

Twenty-six of the civilized nations have recently signed "Peace Treaties" with the United States. It is earnestly to be hoped that all of them will do so eventually, for the majority, without question, will abide by them.

But it should not be forgotten that Germany tore up her treaty regarding the neutrality of Belgium when it accorded with her interests to do so.

Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the

context of the Hay-Pauncefoote Treaty was long a mooted subject in this country, when the keeping of it was contrary to our own interests.

It is certainly much to the credit of our Government, from the point of honor, that this treaty was kept when its significance was dubious to many minds, and unfavorable to American shipping enterprises. So the uncertainty of the keeping of treaties is a strong argument for the necessity of an international "Peace Force" to enforce peace compacts, and to insist that all disputes arising between the nations be settled at their accepted Court of Arbitration.

The principle of preserving peace and order by organized force has certainly stood the test of centuries.

And we must look the situation squarely in the face, and remember we have reason to believe that wars between nations, as riots in internal affairs, will always continue, more or less, so it behooves the lovers of peace to devise the most practical methods to control them as far as is possible.

As all national, interstate and individual problems and disputes are settled by law and enforced by the police and the militia, it is reasonable to believe it would be proven in time that international quarrels could be similarly adjudicated.

The disputes of individuals are far more numerous than are those of nations and the same complex elements enter also into them, including jealousy, ambition, aggrandizement and still other attributes.

Why then may not international disputes be settled by the same principle as are local ones? It is certainly worth the effort to give the principle a trial in this respect.

Each nation contends that were it in the supremacy it would protect civilization and ensure peace. But as a matter of fact, a majority of the leading Powers of the globe are to-day fighting the worst conflict of all history. So much for the availability of individual nations to ensure international peace, especially as they all are contending they were unwillingly embroiled in this warfare.

Defensive alliances have existed between great nations for centuries.

Italy maintains that her alliance with Germany and Austria was for defensive purposes, hence her refusing to participate with them in the present war, as she considers that they were the aggressors in it.

An alliance, therefore, between the nations represented at the Hague to utilize their armaments to defend the peace of the world is clearly practicable from the attitude of nations in regard to alliances; as it is also from the standard that organized force

has been recognized for centuries to ensure national and civic peace; and furthermore, several of the great Powers united to enforce peace in China, while all the civilized nations of the world have acknowledged that disputes between them might be settled at the Hague Tribunal, which principle was nullified largely through a lack of organized force to uphold it; so from all these standpoints it would be practicable for civilized nations to form an alliance to insist that international disputes be settled at the Hague; and should any party interested in the disputed question refuse to leave it to that Tribunal for settlement, then such power should be confronted by the united forces of all the nations of the globe, both small and great, acting in the capacity of a police force, until the refractory nation should consent to settle the quarrel at the stated Court of Arbitration.

The nations could never object that it would not be to their interest to settle the disputes of others by armed interference, when this great conflict has proven conclusively that it is to the advantage of all to maintain the peace of the world, as trade and economic conditions everywhere are being paralyzed by what seemed only a local quarrel between Austria and Servia. This is irrespective of the terrible loss to the belligerents; and con-

cerning the enormous expense of maintaining all the forces, a leading journal placed the figures at approximately \$22,000,000 per diem.

To illustrate the main point of our argument, had Austria been given the alternative of settling her dispute with Servia at the Hague, or of confronting the forces of all nations represented at that Court, her attitude in all probability would have been different.

Or had Servia also been given the choice of giving reasonable satisfaction to Austria for real grievances, such as unquestionably existed, or, failing therein, to meet the united forces of the world, it is obvious what her attitude probably would have been, as the nations represented at the Hague consist of Argentina, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, German Empire, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Montenegro, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Salvador, Servia, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.¹

What nation would go to war against such a combination of Powers?

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 133.

XII

“NATION SHALL RISE AGAINST NATION AND KINGDOM AGAINST KINGDOM ”

IF we judge from present conditions and from Scriptural prophecy, “Nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom ” until Christ appears again.

In all countries we may expect different forms of evil will always continue to a greater or lesser degree. In other words, though wars and other disturbances undoubtedly will always exist more or less, nevertheless they may be held in check and made less frequent by different agencies organized for such a purpose.

However, we Americans have boldly declared to the world that people are entitled to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

But unfortunately some of the leaders of nations are of the Bismarckian type in respect to their belief in building empires by “blood and iron.” As few such leaders have been as open in their confessions as was Bismarck in regard to his having instigated war to form the German Empire, reference

is made to him as an example of such a type without any fear of injustice on the subject.

He explains frankly in his reminiscences how he brought the Franco-Prussian war about.¹

All that he desired was that it should come at precisely the right moment, when Prussia was entirely ready, and that it should come by act of France, so that Prussia could pose before Europe as merely defending herself against a wanton oppressor.

Leading nations of the world are making a similar accusation against the Kaiser, when history has repeated itself.

The conditions are practically parallel, as Germany was the best prepared of any nation in the world for warfare; her ally, Austria, precipitated the conflict, though warned by the Powers of the probable outcome; and Germany is posing before the world as merely defending herself against aggressors.

But the Kaiser firmly denies such responsibility; so the verdict should be made only from official documents relative to the development of this great conflict.

As a people we should be careful to avoid injustice or partiality, and should judge only from the

¹ *World's Work*, September, 1914.

facts themselves. The accusation is too serious to justify a decision without conclusive evidence, such as is contained in the official documents mentioned in this volume.

In any case the terrible conditions still remain that the worst conflict of history is now being fought, in spite of the unmistakable efforts made by some nations to avert it.

Should the reader acquit the Kaiser of these serious charges against him, at all events, as Americans, we should not forget that "In 1898, after Admiral Dewey had defeated the Spanish fleet in Manila, Admiral Diedrich with a German fleet entered the harbor and sounded the British Admiral, who arrived about the same time, as to what his attitude would be were Germany to try to force the American fleet to give up Manila. The answer was such as to prevent any move on the part of the German Admiral, but not to prevent a feeling against the German Government."¹

The foregoing demonstrates from their own attitude what might be expected from Germany in the New World, and again from their own words we have an exposition of their policy in Europe, which is now being realized in this great conflict.

Attention was called to the latter by Dr. Jordan

¹ *World's Work*, September, 1914.

of Columbia University in the New York *Times*, September 14th.

"To the Editor of the New York *Times*: *Le Temps*, of August 28th, on the fourth page quotes several passages taken from the German book, 'France in Arms,' written some time ago by Marshal Baron Bronsard von Schellendorf, Prussian Minister of War. I give below some extracts which are enough to convince me that a review of this book would be greatly appreciated at the present time by the American public. It must not be forgotten that Marshal Baron Bronsard von Schellendorf has long enjoyed the favor and confidence of the Kaiser. I confess I am quoting not from the original but from the French translation. 'The next war will be atrocious, . . . between Germany and France; it must be a duel to death. To be or not to be; that is the question that must be asked and will be solved only with the ruin of one of the antagonists.

" 'Let us not forget the civilizing lash which the decrees of Providence have set before us. Just as Prussia has certainly been the kernel of Germany, regenerated Germany will be the kernel of the future Western empire.

" 'And in order that no one should be left in ignorance, we proclaim at this early date that our

continental nation has a right to proclaim superiority on sea, not only in the North Sea, but also in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. We shall therefore absorb, one after the other, all the provinces which lie near Prussia. We shall successively annex for ourselves Denmark, Holland, Franche Comté (in France), Northern Switzerland, Livonia, then Trieste and Venice, and finally the north of the Gallic region.

“ ‘Such a program, which we give without fear, is not the word of a madman; the empire we wish to form will not be a dream. We now have in hand the means to realize it.’

“ DANIEL JORDAN,
“Columbia University, September 11, 1914.”

The policy of President Wilson in regard to Mexico should not fail to convince all impartial minds of the attitude of this Government towards the cause of peace.

But as conditions stand at the present day, the God-given rights of “Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” may be denied any nation at any time at the will of some ambitious ruler. What we must seek to accomplish is to minimize the number of such wars, as far as is possible, and also, when all efforts for peace have failed, as in the

present conflict, we should be prepared to defend the lives of our citizens without an unnecessary slaughter at the outset through a lack of adequate defense, while at the same time we should avoid the existence of a large standing army.

But with our existing army and navy, what would be the probability of a successful defense in a war against any of the belligerents, of the present conflict, if we were unaided?

And should the Allies be unsuccessful, might not the map of the world be changed, even in this hemisphere, so that our Monroe Doctrine, if invaded at the cessation of hostilities, would then place us in a precarious position for being involved ourselves in warfare at no remote date.

If any war in which we might be embroiled could be prolonged and thousands of lives slaughtered unnecessarily while our recruits were being trained, probably we would win in the end, as official reports testify we could eventually place in the field over sixteen millions of able-bodied men.¹

But armies and navies are not created nor mobilized now as they were at the time of the Civil War.

Each must be prepared and ready to strike when the conflict begins and the one best equipped makes the most headway.

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 470.

The Allies are as good fighters as are the Germans, and because of their resources presumably they will win in the end. But they had not as large a trained army as had the Germans, hence the lives of many of the Allies were unnecessarily sacrificed while their forces were being mobilized and their recruits trained and their enemies were fighting their way to Paris.

The tide is turning now that the armies of the Allies have been reinforced.

At the same time the militarism of Germany is strongly to be deprecated.

How then can the situation be met by us, as a nation, to avoid a possible slaughter of the lives of our citizens in the event of enforced warfare, though we oppose the existence of a large standing army?

The following tables will show our defensive position in possible warfare:

LAND FORCES OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES OF EUROPE,
JAPAN AND UNITED STATES¹

<i>(Total War Strength)</i>	
Germany	5,200,000
France	4,000,000
Russia	5,500,000
Austria-Hungary	2,000,000
Great Britain	730,000
Japan	1,200,000
United States } Regulars	100,000
} Militia	122,674

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 417.

NAVIES OF THE WORLD
(All Classes of Ships)

Great Britain	569
Germany	325
United States	240
France	389
Japan	192
Austria-Hungary	114
Russia	220 ¹

As a nation obviously anxious to follow the paths of peace we are in a position to take the lead in inaugurating all methods to accomplish such a purpose.

But it should be believed by all persons, and especially by those who place credence in Scriptural prophecy, that fighting among men will not cease entirely until Christ's second appearing, though it may be held in check more or less.

This is deducible from a knowledge of human nature; from present conditions; and from Christ's words that just prior to His appearing; "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom."

What should be done then to defend our nation and the lives of our citizens, when all methods to insure peace shall have failed, in a crisis?

In the first place, our coast line should be defended by a competent and sufficiently large navy to protect our cities. But England would never

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 417.

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allow any nation to exceed her naval strength, though our governments are on the most friendly footing.

So the question of defending ourselves when attacked could not rest solely with our navy.

But were our nation to develop fully the idea inaugurated, in a measure, by General Wood, every able-bodied man would be trained to defend the peace of the country, though we should emphasize again and again that this would not mean a permanent army, nor the expense entailed by one.

The militia law of January 21, 1903, as amended by the act of May 27, 1908, provides: "That the militia shall consist of every able-bodied male citizen of the respective states, and every able-bodied male of foreign birth who has declared his intention to become a citizen, who is more than eighteen and less than forty-five years of age, and shall be divided into two classes, the organized militia to be known as the National Guard or by such other designations as may be given them by the laws of the respective states or territories; the remainder to be known as the reserve militia."¹

The Seventh Regiment is one of the best expositions of the militia now constituted as a part of the National Guard that may be mentioned.

¹ "World Encyclopedia," 1914, p. 470.

The men enter it without interfering with any of their domestic or other obligations.

The wonderful “*esprit de corps*” existing among them testifies to the pleasure they take in such service, which they may leave at the expiration of their term of enlistment.

And the excellent service they rendered in the Civil War and in quelling strikes has given evidence of their ability as guardians of the peace.

As has been stated, the men retire at will, according to the term of enlistment. The Seventh Regiment veterans consist of men who have retired at the end of such terms.

In some of the militia regiments the uniforms are supplied by the men themselves, and they are also taxed four dollars quarterly for the care of the companies’ rooms. This leaves to the state the expense of the armory and the munitions of war.

But in no case does the support of the men develop upon the state as it does upon the Government for the army regulars.

Were the militia law of January, 1903, carried fully into effect every able-bodied male citizen in the country would be capable of rendering efficient service in protecting the lives, the peace and the pursuit of happiness of the American people.

It would not comprise a standing army, but it

would place our nation in a position of defense when attacked, without an unnecessary sacrifice of lives.

To-day we are not prepared to defend the lives and property of our citizens, as the tables showing the strength of the armaments of the Powers of the world, quoted in this chapter, will testify.

The expense of a militia thus supported by each state would be small as compared with the standing armies of the great Powers of the world, where men are obliged to serve for a term of years, and are supported by the government.

It is well to emphasize that the men in the militia retire at the expiration of their term of service, so that only a fraction of the able-bodied men would be in training at one time.

That such forces should be utilized solely for defensive purposes, a law with conditions forbidding their mobilization except for such an object might easily be passed, as our national policy is clearly in favor of peace.

Many earnest Christians believe that the present conflict now raging will prove to be the last war of the nations, when the "Battle of Armageddon" will be fought before the second coming of Christ. Of that none can know at present.

But in case the old world continues on its way

as heretofore, every possible means should be taken to hold war in check; but the nation should also be prepared to defend its citizens, when war is inevitable, without encouraging the spirit of militarism by a large standing army, or burdening the people with the enormous expense of maintaining one.

With our able-bodied men trained for a national defense in the militia, and a small standing army on the footing now advocated before Congress, we need have no fear for the safety of our nation, nor for the lives of our citizens.

In the words of our immortal General Grant, “Let us have peace”; but let us also remember that it is essential for us to defend ourselves against the attacks of the men who believe in the policy of “blood and iron,” which this terrible conflict is proving.

XIII

“GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE ”

MEMBERS of governments seldom go to war. They declare war, and the people bear the brunt of it.

The people give their lives, their property, their children, their fathers, their brothers, their husbands, their lovers ; and the people endure the hardships and the sufferings thereof ; but the people have not one word to say whether or not this terrible scourge shall be brought upon them.

Yet we profess to live in an age of justice and of enlightenment ; and we profess also that our government is “by the people ; and for the people.” And yet the people have no voice whatsoever in the greatest crisis that can confront a nation.

If the people had had a voice in the great conflict that is now being waged, is it believable that the verdict would have been in favor of warfare ?

Yet the people are being led “like lambs to the slaughter” to give their lives for a quarrel of gov-

ernments,—a quarrel in which they have had no word nor share in having brought about !

Yet in their love for their native lands they are giving their lives and all that is dearest to them to defend them in the cataclysm that others have brought about. Must the people endure this any longer ?

Must they sacrifice so much for the insensate decisions of some governments ?

Shall not our government be in reality a government “by the people and for the people” to avert such calamities, and shall not the people have a voice in the decision as to whether or not they shall endure such hardships ? It would necessitate an amendment to our Constitution, but amendments have been made to it regarding matters of much less importance than the waging of warfare, which power is now vested in Congress.

It would be essential to leave some latitude to the Government in the event of invasion, but it is acknowledged that no rule is without its exceptions.

To place such a responsibility upon the people would give the greatest opportunity for the sober sense of Christian peoples to assert itself, and the terrible scourge of warfare would thereby receive its greatest check.

XIV

PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE

LET us now turn our thoughts to some existing industrial problems.

“For twenty years the garment workers of New York City have been fighting and striking.”¹

Sometimes they won; but in the majority of cases they were defeated. Most of them were Russian Jews; and many immigrants among them, ignorant of the standard of wages in this country, were always ready to work for little remuneration. This was taken advantage of by the small employers, with little capital, who were always ready to squeeze as much out of them as possible. Naturally the large employers who paid better wages suffered in consequence of the cheaper competition.

In the event of a strike in a large shop, the small employers would push their workers to turn out quantities of garments to fill the orders coming to them from the inability of the larger concern to meet their demands. Sometimes this resulted in

¹ Facts largely from *New York Times*, June 16, 1912.

the failure of the larger manufacturer, and smaller ones would take his place.

But on the other hand, if a strike became general, so that the small shops were obliged to close down owing to lack of funds to carry them through the situation, some of them inevitably would fail. Then again, the cloak and suit industry is seasonal; and during the slack periods the employers would cut wages; while in retaliation the employees would strike for higher ones during a busy season. Conditions could hardly have been more unsatisfactory or more chaotic.

Then came the great strike of 1910, one of the greatest in the history of this country. The strikers submitted a list of many grievances, and in the end they won all points with the exception of the "closed shop." That was the crucial point, and out of this contest grew a new idea in the history of labor. The Unions persisted in their recognition, and the employers were equally obdurate in maintaining the liberty of employing whomsoever they chose, though they were willing to accept a majority of Union men.

The condition of the strikers became so bad that finally persons of influence began to interest themselves in the solution of the problem, as both sides stood as adamant. The result was that a "Protocol

of Peace" was signed in September. Whenever there is trouble in a cloak and suit shop representatives of the Union and representatives of the manufacturers go at once to the place and see if the matter cannot be adjusted then and there. Sometimes it is a real grievance, a violation of some plain rule coming clearly under the provisions of the "Protocol of Peace." Often the question is decided upon in a minute or two by the opposing sides, and occasionally it is only a little outburst of temper not worth noticing. If the dispute is more serious than this the representatives send it up to the Grievance Committee under which they hold authority.

The Grievance Committee or Board of Adjustment consists of Union men and manufacturers; and so far there have been few cases that could not be settled according to the Committee's understanding of the terms of the protocol. When the Board of Adjustment is divided in its interpretation of the protocol and its application to the case in point, the dispute goes to the Board of Arbitration composed of Louis D. Brandeis and Hamilton Holt, representing the Manufacturers' Protective Association, and Morris Hillquit, representing the Cloak and Suit Makers' Union. By the decisions of this Board both sides are bound. As this decision is

not a law of course no man can be enforced to hold to it, if at any time he should say that he would not do so. Comment will be made later on in these pages regarding this aspect of the situation and the possibility of overcoming the difficulty that arose from this weak point in the provisions of the protocol.

But at present a tabulation of results that have been obtained probably will be of interest.

“The largest cause of grievance was alleged unjust discharge; the next unequal distribution of work; and the next disputes in fixing of prices. These were the three leading causes of quarrel. There were, in nine months, 1,004 grievances considered, and they were disposed of as follows:

By the Board of Arbitration	4
By the Board of Grievances	202
By the Deputies (on the spot)	798

“The decisions were as follows:

Adjusted by mutual consent	348
Dropped	253
Adjusted in favor of the Union	202
Adjusted in favor of the manufacturers	174
Withdrawn	27

“The protocol imposed conditions on both employers and employees. In regard to the manufacturer they are:

“1. He obligates himself to employ Union men

by preference as long as he is not restricted in the selection of the best available Union help.

"2. He is pledged to pay the scale of wages adopted for the week workers in the trade. (Workers are divided into those paid by the week and those paid by the piece.)

"3. He cannot oblige the men to work until the piece price to be paid is agreed upon by the manufacturer and a committee of employees.

"4. He is pledged to accept the decision of the Board of Grievances or the Board of Arbitration upon any complaint made by his employees.

"The Union also has obligations. They are:

"1. There must be an open Union; admission to the labor organizations must be free to all qualified without any discrimination.

"2. The right to strike is given up as long as the protocol is in force.

"3. The employee must accept the decisions of the Board of Grievances and the Board of Arbitration as final.

"It is in these clauses that Charles H. Winslow, writing for the United States Department of Labor, sums up this remarkable agreement. Going further, he outlines the advantages that have come to each side since the protocol has been in force. For the men he finds these points gained:

"1. Recognition of the principle of collective bargaining.

"2. Decrease in the number of hours of work per week from fifty-four to fifty. Formerly men had worked as long as sixty and seventy hours for subcontractors.

"3. Increase of wages for week workers. This amounts to about ten per cent., and wages have been approximately standardized even in shops not governed by the protocol.

"4. Abolition of the inside contracting system. This does away with the padrone and a vast amount of exploitation and 'sweating.'

"5. Introduction of machinery and the installation of sewing-machines. Formerly manufacturers would frequently refuse to install electricity, thinking that the foot power of the workers was more economical. Some of them also required employees to furnish their own sewing-machines.

"6. Restriction of overtime work. Formerly there was no limit to the number of hours a man might be worked.

"7. Abolition of home work.

"8. Pay to weekly workers for ten legal holidays.

"9. Regular weekly pay day, and pay in cash. Formerly employers paid whenever convenient, and often by check.

"10. Minimum scale of wages for week workers.

"11. Double pay for overtime of week workers. Formerly they got what they could.

"12. Creation of conditions for the safety and health of the workers. This was brought about through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, of which more will be said later.

"13. Protection against lock-out. There can be no lock-out until the Board of Grievances has spoken.

"14. Abolition of the practice of exacting security from employees. It had been with some employers the practice to exact security of from five to fifty dollars for the employee's continuance in their employment.

"15. Prompt redress of grievances. In the past to mention a grievance to a firm was to invite dismissal.

"16. Equal distribution of the work as far as possible. All sorts of favoritism had been prevalent.

"17. Enforcement of the guarantees of the protocol.

"The manufacturers had also gained points that were worth much to them. They are summed up by Mr. Winslow as:

"1. Protection against strikes. There can be

no strike until the grievance has been submitted to the board.

“2. Restriction of unfair competition between one manufacturer and another with reference to the cost of labor. Prices have been somewhat regulated, even in shops not under the protocol.

“3. Creation of conditions tending to eliminate unfair competition between shops of the better class and the unscrupulous employers. This is brought about by the demand of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control for proper conditions everywhere, so that an employer who wishes to give good surroundings to his men is no longer underbid by men who crowd their workers into cheap and unsanitary places.

“4. Security from loss and annoyance through law suits. Employers had employed subcontractors, and these men had frequently defrauded the workers, with the result that the employer would be sued.

“5. Protection against the exorbitant demands of piece workers. They had taken advantage of the slack season to demand very high wages.

“6. Creation of methods of discipline and order in the conduct of the factory.

“7. Creation of conditions which tend to lengthen the season. This comes about through the abolition of the excessive overtime.

"The Joint Board of Sanitary Control, for the support of which both employers and the Union pay, is a very important part of the protocol. It is a regularly constituted body, with offices and employees. It is composed of Messrs. Max Meyer and S. L. Silver for the manufacturers, Messrs. Benjamin Schlessinger and Dr. George M. Price for the Union, and William Jay Schieffelin, Lillian D. Wald and Henry Moskowitz for the public.

"It has now under survey 1,884 shops compared with 1,243 at the first inspection. It has enforced the installation of improvements for fire prevention, for protecting the worker from eye strain, and for conditions of health and cleanliness until now fifty-one per cent. of the employees in the cloak and suit industry are working in shops which have their certificate. More than that a physical examination of the workers is about to be undertaken, with a view to studying occupational diseases.

"This record has been obtained in a 'sweated' industry in the space of two years. A comparison of the cloak and suit industry with other divisions of the clothing trade shows investigators how vast is the work accomplished by this union of men and employers."¹

The employers and the employees had come to a

¹ *New York Times*, June 16, 1912.

deadlock in the conditions regarding the unionizing of shops, which the "Protocol of Peace" overcame with a compromise in the nature of a "preferential shop." Nine months subsequently 1,004 grievances were considered and disposed of by the method of adjustment devised by the protocol. As the strike of 1910 involved 70,000 men and women and lasted nine weeks, while the strikers lost \$7,000,000 in wages, and the manufacturers' losses and profits were enormous, the decision of any reasonable mind certainly would be in favor of a system that could settle over one thousand grievances amicably in nine months' time.

The nearer the Christian standard is attained of respecting equally the rights of all the better results are obtained from every aspect.

It might be well to emphasize that the material gains are great, as the result of respecting the just claims of both sides in industrial affairs.

The losses to the strikers and the employers during strikes often run into the millions, irrespective of the suffering and the penalties to be endured from acts of lawlessness and violence; while the hard feelings engendered and the deprivations to be endured by wives and children during such periods are conditions beyond estimation.

The Board of Adjustment as it exists to-day has

not brought about a perfected situation. But unquestionably it constitutes a nucleus for evolving conditions that are acceptable alike to employers and the employed. The reason for this is obvious; the claims of both sides are presented by their representatives who are competent to deal with the questions involved; they are set forth in a fair way with the determination to obtain justice; but above all the conviction exists that each side is entitled to its own rights, and that concessions must be made by both in order to obtain them. With such a foundation to work upon the structure developed in the future, point by point, satisfactory in nature to those concerned, in the course of time could not fail to evolve as desirable a state of affairs for each industry as it would be possible to obtain.

The complex problems of each specific industry would thus be solved.

No one can foretell the results of evolution. But probably in most cases a system of coöperation would eventuate. This implies a method whereby profits are shared by the employees, and not one merely indicating the giving of a bonus under certain conditions. With a personal interest in the proceeds of the factory in which he is working, the employee is personally concerned in its success and output. In reality he is himself part employer un-

der such a system. So his interests and those of the head of the concern become amalgamated.

The schemes are so varied in nature that it would be impossible to give an outline of them. But the record since the first experiment started shows that out of the entire number that have been abandoned three-fifths have been attributable to other causes than to a failure of the system itself. The remaining two-fifths in working out their respective plans have followed different methods ; so their lack of success apparently is attributable to a failure in having evolved suitable methods rather than in the principle itself. The records will indicate that a majority of these experiments have been successful, though the system is still in an embryonic state. Probably some definite method will eventuate, the general outlines of which will be applicable to most utilities.

“In Great Britain to-day seventy-nine successful coöperative societies are in existence.

“After the labor coöperative system was founded in 1883, the principle was placed on a more solid basis than previously, and the results have been more satisfactory. The wholesale and retail societies have grown enormously and have prospered. The productive societies have had harder struggles ; but the great gas companies have started profit-

sharing schemes, and have affiliated with the Co-partnership Association, of which Aneurin Williams is the leader, and in the success of which Earl Grey, Lord Robert Cecil and other distinguished persons have become interested.

“The societies are often started by the savings of working men themselves ; then the successful co-operative corporations put in money, and when any is borrowed from the banks, the workmen pledge a part of their wages every pay day to pay the interest thereon. After the company is organized and registered, a meeting of shareholders is called. At this meeting a committee, usually of ten, is elected ; and to them is entrusted the whole management of the business.

“Their first step is to employ an experienced manager. Department foremen are then chosen and travelling salesmen are sent out.

“That these small coöperative concerns have been able to compete successfully with the large established enterprises is thought to be a convincing proof of the stability of the principle.

“Capital is allowed five per cent. on the profits ; labor makes wages and has shares in the profits, and the purchaser also shares in them. Regular schedules are made to control the distribution of the profits, interest on borrowed money first be-

ing paid. While these schedules vary, the different societies usually subscribe as much towards propaganda as they do to the Provident Fund which provides for sickness and emergencies.

“They also subscribe from the net proceeds to the regular customers of the concern, which is in accordance with the principle of coöperation that those who are directly connected shall be participators. If there is not enough for a dividend the holders of the stock lose and the workmen get only their wages as in ordinary corporations.

“One instance may be mentioned of the adherence of the men to the principle even when suffering material loss.

“Those societies that withhold a portion of the wages every pay day for the interest on borrowed money cannot return such amounts to the employed. This occurred one year in one of the printing companies. At the end of six months there was a loss. The men had to be satisfied not only with part wages, but they also had to take from them to meet requirements. At first there was a great deal of grumbling; meetings were called and speeches made.

“Finally they paid what was essential and not one man left the society.

“It taught them to adhere to principle through adversity.

“An atmosphere of thrift, enthusiasm and of idealism is noticeable in these corporations.

“There have been no strikes at all.

“There is a long waiting list among employees to obtain employment in them among a most desirable class of workers.

“They consider it ‘working for themselves,’ as they term it, and they speak of the difference in the spirit of such a shop and in ordinary ones.

“There is more care for the product and less waste, which is occasioned by a personal interest in the output.”¹

The profit-sharing plans developed by Mr. George W. Perkins in this country are on a large scale and have been very successful in results. About 4,300 employees in the International Harvester Company benefit by his projects.

But the greatest living exponent of the co-operative system probably is Mr. Henry Ford of the Motor Car Company bearing his name, of Detroit, Michigan. He has recently issued a statement declaring that the company just mentioned, in which he holds the controlling interest, will share one-half of the profits in the future with the employees. This year it is estimated that their profits will be from \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000,

¹ Samuel P. Orth, *New York Times*.

based on the computation of those made by the company last year, which amounted to \$25,000,000. Mr. Ford is reported to have said that he and the vice-president and treasurer of the company, Mr. Couzens, have been working on the plan for several years. He affirms that the men have been faithful and efficient, and though they are paid good wages, nevertheless he believes they should share in the profits. He wishes it to be understood that the added sum they will receive is not to be considered in the nature either of increased wages or of a bonus, but rather in that of a dividend. He considers the employees independent beings, entitled to their share in the profits, and does not wish to establish any system savoring of paternalism. He has every confidence in the success of his plan, that he emphasizes has been carefully studied and evolved.

So the principle has now been proven, from the facts just narrated, that the rights of the employer and the employee may be maintained equally and practically.

This has been evinced by the "Board of Adjustment" that has been an outcome of the "Protocol of Peace," and again the employee may become part owner in an industry in which he is working, as has been shown in coöperative industries.

These are merely foundation stones in the development of a system standing for the equal rights of all in industrial affairs.

But we should rejoice that this era really has dawned, and await with interest its gradual development towards a more nearly perfected state than already has been evolved.

Christ's teachings embody an equal consideration of all men in all aspects of life.

XV

TO ENSURE JUSTICE IN INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS

THE weak point in the Board of Adjustment has lain in the fact that its decrees cannot be enforced.

The result was the strike in 1912, though after all the turmoil those who were concerned returned in the end to the decision of a "Protocol of Peace."

This weakness in the system might be overcome by the creation of a State Board of Adjustment to decide any unsolved problems of a local one.

The formation of a State Board of Adjustment would represent a sort of "Fraternalism" by the Government standing for maintaining the rights of all their citizens in lieu of Socialism that overrides those of many in favor of others.

As a precedent in principle, for the establishment of Local and State Boards for the adjusting of industrial problems, nearly all civilized governments of the world are composed of an Upper and also a Lower House to decide political questions. With industrial problems a local Board representing the

Lower House should pertain to individual or similar industries in the state, and their decisions, if satisfactory, need not be sent to the State Board or Upper House for confirmation. Only in the event of a disagreement between the two sides in a Local Board need the problem be carried to a State Board.

To make such a system successful it would be essential that the State Board consist of members approved by the industry concerned. On that account the State Board should not constitute a permanent body, but should be called into being by the governor of the state, who should choose its members, somewhat as a jury is formed, and approved by both sides. Their decisions should be decisive even as are those of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In the event of a tie in their decision the governor's vote should be decisive.

Should any corporation refuse to accede to the decision of the State Board such corporation should sacrifice its franchise; and should any employee not agree to the same, employment should be denied him permanently by said utility and by any Public Service body in the state as suggested in a bill concerning arbitration by Mr. J. C. Pompelly, of New York City.

Publicity also should be given to all sessions of the State Board, as public opinion is of weight in obtaining justice.

With an established forum for presenting and upholding the rights of the employer and the employed, step by step grievances would be adjusted, and a system founded on a mutual consideration, each for the other, would be evolved.

The world has advanced chiefly in stages of evolution; so the establishment of State and Local Boards of Adjustment wherein industrial problems might be solved step by step by those directly concerned, even as national affairs are discussed and decided by an Upper and a Lower House, would be a normal, a just and a Christian standard to support.

To confirm the opinion of the writer concerning the efficacy of Boards of Adjustment the following words are quoted from an organizer of the Garment Workers' strike of 1912 in New York City and also a statement from a manufacturer's journal. The organizer of the strike, to whom reference is made, is Miss Gertrude Barnum, a college graduate and a daughter of a former judge in Chicago. She is reported to have said in regard to the strike and the causes that generated it:

"All these conditions can, I believe, be remedied

in a great degree by a 'Protocol of Peace' similar to that adopted in 1910 by the Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. This agreement in one of the most chaotic, unorganized branches of the garment industry provided among other things for a minimum wage of ten dollars, a 'preferential' shop, not a closed shop, lower and higher courts for the adjudication of industrial disputes, a joint board to receive grievances, and a joint board of sanitary control. While the protocol has not been entirely satisfactory to every one, it has worked out better than any other system that has ever been adopted, and is, I believe, the most creditable effort yet made in America to solve the problem of the relations between employer and employee. On the whole the manufacturers are satisfied. Let me read you this bit from the *Cloak and Suit Review*, the manufacturers' journal:

“‘The protocol must be pronounced a success. It has proved a working instrument of industrial peace. To those who look upon business as more than mere barter and money making, who consider it a form of social service, the spectacle of a Board of Directors of a business organization giving their valuable time and energy to safeguard the high standard of an industry, and at the same time to

deal equitably with labor, is worthy of the highest admiration.'

"On the other hand, it is wonderful to see a heterogeneous multitude of 50,000 men and women of all creeds and nationalities slowly and painfully learning the lesson of individual subordination, curbing passion, submitting to reason, learning the value of organization, practicing scrutiny of the actions of the leaders—it makes one hopeful."¹

¹ *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1913.

XVI

FORCE OF EXAMPLE

THE old expression, "The King can do no wrong," has a deep signification.

If we set aside the attribute of the "Divine Right" still attributed to him, in the opinions of some supporters of monarchical forms of government, his office is imbued, nevertheless, with a singular power. Even though he be clearly in the wrong yet it requires great courage to assail him not alone for the results that might be visited by himself personally, but also for the support that he will receive from the powerful upholders of the crown.

Fortunately at the present day the royal authority is greatly abridged, so much so that kingdoms fall and are supplanted by republics with but little resistance, so great has become the voice of the people.

Nevertheless, the subtle influence of power, limited though it be, of those in any executive capacity, is felt in all communities. In other

words, a position of authority carries with it an inexplicable power, measurable in proportion to its elevation. In this enlightened day, in this country, where a large majority can read and write, a position of authority is "observed of all observers," and the force of example is wide-spread. The attitude of the representatives of our people is followed closely in the press and the approval, or otherwise, is quickly voiced at the polls.

Unlike the royal potentate, the power vested in any executive officer in this country, being due to the votes of the people, a double responsibility is vested in him.

As the poor greatly outnumber the "richer classes," obviously the obligation to consider their betterment is imperative, the office being largely their gift. Hence in an article pertaining to the welfare of the poorer classes, it seems in keeping that an "Appeal" be made to all those in positions of authority throughout the length and breadth of this land, and especially to those holding offices that are the gift of the people.

This Appeal is clothed in a request to extend to the poor the same reciprocal friendship as did our great Leader; and by the force of example to raise on high the drooping standard of our forefathers with these vital words: "We hold

these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

If possible to devote the time to such a purpose it is also hoped that some may be able to assist in bettering industrial conditions, according to the Christian standard of observing the rights of all.

In monarchical countries, even in the present day, Christian rulers surround themselves with an etiquette that makes it difficult even for their own subjects to approach them, unless it be some of the aristocracy.

Yet the King of kings, to whom these rulers make obeisance, sought the poor and the afflicted and mingled in the "press of the people."

At the time of the coming of Christ and even generations subsequent to it such an attitude was easy to comprehend, for the whole world was imbued with heathen ideas, and Christianity was but as the "leaven in the lump."

To illustrate the difficulty of combatting heathen ideas, even at this day it has been stated authoritatively that it required about fifty years for Christian missionaries to convince heathendom in Eastern lands, notably in Asia, that their women were being capable of being educated.

At first they paid the daughters of coolies to attend their schools in order to demonstrate their

argument. Now native women physicians are practicing, even in China.¹ In fifty years' time about one per cent. of the women of the population of China and India can read and write, nearly all of whom are Christians. If Christianity had accomplished nothing besides elevating the position of woman, it would still outrank all of the religions of the world.²

In heathen lands they are practically slaves of their husbands, and in some countries even of his family also. At times "suicide among them is almost epidemic."

An instance is told of a poor woman fleeing to one of the Christian missions to protect herself from her husband, who intended selling her to a leper for any purpose he chose, the law protecting the transaction.³ Such laws are the outgrowth of the religious oppression of women. Even in Japan, that we look upon as so enlightened for a heathen land, a recent emperor celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his marriage to the empress by adding a new concubine to his household.⁴

Though the expression, "the force of example," has become proverbial, yet it is possible that the far-reaching influence of nations and of peoples, one

¹ Montgomery, "Western Women in Eastern Lands," p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 215-216. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 78. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

upon the other, may not be well appreciated without some investigation thereupon.

Dr. Jinzo Naruse, inaugurator of the "Higher Education of Women" in Japan, and founder and president of the Japan Women's University at Tokyo, is reported to have said :

"The Women's University in Tokyo was frankly modelled not on any one American college, but on the general system of education in America."

He also stated clearly that, in establishing such a system of education in his own country, he had in mind the American girl and her manner of living as a standard for them to follow.

"In Japan I hold up the American woman as a model," he said. "I speak of her alertness, her intelligence, her self-reliance, her breadth of view. There are of course notable scholars in every country, yet the average American young woman is the best educated young woman in the world. Her horizon is broader, her life is at once more free and more sane. She is more alert, more interested in what is going on outside of her own life. Her personality is, I think, more vivid. She is thoroughly progressive.

"She leads the women of the world."

At the time that Dr. Naruse made these statements he was visiting the United States for the first time after an absence of nineteen years.

His own words will best emphasize his impressions on returning :

“ When I was in America nineteen years ago, what impressed me most was the difference between the Japanese and American young women. What impresses me now is their similarity.”

The late Emperor of Japan is called by the Japanese themselves the “ Emperor of the Era of Great Enlightenment.”

This change began to occur after Commodore Perry had entered one of their ports in a war-ship and demanded that the closed doors of their nation be opened to receive him. Hence the gratitude of many Japanese towards America for having taken them out of their seclusion.

This “ Era of Enlightenment,” so termed by the Japanese people, has consisted in imitating the customs of Christian nations, which is a tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of Christian ways, even imperfectly as they have been carried out.

Another forcible instance of the far-reaching power of example may be found in the words of Ching Chun Wang, associate director of the Pekin Mukden Railway and prominent among Chinese Progressives.

"The new China is a new United States," he declared.

"The Chinaman has changed his character. Do not forget that thousands of Chinamen have been educated in the United States. No wonder that in the new China there is a great deal of American influence; our Government is American; our Constitution is American; many of us feel like Americans."

In respect to railroading alone he showed a new influence upon the Chinese character that seems almost incredible. "A China playing the rôle of progress and complaining bitterly because 'Japan, a backward nation,' is thwarting Chinese plans for the betterment of Manchuria."

"China progressive!—A new rôle for the Western mind to accept."

The most democratic nation, the most democratic people in the world are wielding this influence, clearly for the reason that imperfectly as our standard has been upheld, nevertheless we have approached nearest the realization of the Christian precept of respecting the rights of all men.

The education, the general incentive to rise and the knowledge that the poorest child in the land may become the leader of his people has resulted

in an unprecedented progress and development. And yet, if we had kept still more closely to our Christian ideals, we should have prospered far beyond our present attainments, for the more highly each individual is developed the better are the results for the whole social fabric.

XVII

AN APPEAL

IF rightly used, riches are a means to happiness, though fortunately it does not consist in them. Happiness itself lies largely within the control of the individual.

But the wage earner really requires more recreation and pleasure than does the rich man, for the reason that the ceaseless grind of life demands relaxation. Hence the attraction of the saloons to many men who had no vicious habits until gradually acquired in such a place of resort.

Humanitarians are learning the wisdom of entertaining the poor for their well-being, nearly all parish houses having amusements of various descriptions for their benefit; but all the concentrated efforts in this direction are merely as "a drop in the bucket"; yet so essential is the work of such a nature that in illustration thereof it would be well to quote the words that a poor woman once addressed to the writer when speaking of her ceaseless grind of toil. "I think I'd have lost my mind this winter if it hadn't been

for the entertainments at the 'Hall,' " she said, referring to those at the mission.

To persons who are little acquainted with the poor such a statement may seem incomprehensible. But it will serve to illustrate forcibly how great might be the advantages to the wage earner (who is not dependent upon charity) of the considerate friendship of a rich man, further than the numerous reasons already given.

Such a friendship necessarily would entail tactful consideration, owing to the gulf that has existed between the classes in the past, especially in the introduction of persons who would contribute pleasure instead of embarrassment to the situation. Probably no persons are more criticized than are the "Social Class," unless it be politicians; but from an inherent interest in humanity the writer has seen "all sorts and conditions of men," having worked even among criminals, and from them up to having been the recipient of hospitality from royalty, she has been able to draw the conclusion, seemingly a just one, that each class of society has its own peculiar virtues and faults, and that not one of them has a monopoly, either of goodness or of failings.

Exception alone might be made of the distinctly criminal class, but they as individuals are not

human hyenas, as some suppose; for in reality many are of the "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde type," with much good, as well as much evil, in their characters.

One in particular stands out in the memory; a man who spent a large part of his life in jail and prison, but when at liberty he wished to lead a mission, somewhat on the pattern of Jerry McAuley. He passed away in a prison hospital exhorting a man in the adjoining bed to repent.

As a matter of wisdom it would be advisable for each class of the social structure to refrain from further invectives regarding the other, and let the rich man, the poor man and those in the middle class congenial in temperaments, endeavor to meet on a common footing as exemplified by our great Leader.

Among friends and acquaintances of the much criticized "Social Class" have been persons whose lives have been a benediction. To such as they an appeal to follow Christ's example in making friends among the poorer classes will not fall upon inattentive ears.

And yet it may be safely prophesied that the worldly reader, the selfish, the proud, those who are indifferent to the condition of the poor and, above all, any who are uncertain of the stability of

their own social position among the upper classes will scorn the suggestion, possibly assail the writer, and yet not reflect that in so doing they will, in reality, be condemning the wisdom of the Greatest of Teachers, whose example towards the poor the writer is earnestly endeavoring to set forth.

It is with a sense of relief that the clergy are at last approached.

Dedicated to the service of God, a vast majority are very true to the sacred trust imposed in them, though history has demonstrated that "black sheep are found in every fold." The comments just made regarding class distinctions, it will be well to state, naturally referred to no particular body nor calling of men, but merely related to the different grades of the social structure.

For absolute unselfishness and spirituality none are superior to the Christian clergy, including also the missionaries of both sexes.

In rural districts salaries of \$500 are not uncommon; and the master intellects of the church, men who are leaders among men, outranking in character nearly any human beings, and equalling in ability those who count their fortunes by the millions, receive in return for their services salaries averaging from \$5,000 to \$10,000. It is exceptional when they exceed these amounts.

In other words, in the church men of ordinary ability receive mere pittance, or salaries so small that it is with difficulty families can be maintained upon them; while men of equal ability, in business capacities, as a rule, obtain comfortable or handsome competencies.

And whereas the leaders in the church receive a few thousand as remuneration, the corresponding intellects in the financial or industrial world make many millions. So much for the lack of worldliness in the ministry in a day when the dollar counts for so much.

But even in our land of religious liberty the churches, nevertheless, are more or less bound by tradition.

This sentiment was forcibly expressed in the words of one of the ablest and most highly esteemed divines of the present day. "This religion of ours is the greatest thing in the universe. It is radical, sublime, audacious. We must do radical, sublime and bold things, if we are to progress and get out of old ruts. Conventional Christianity is choking us to death."

Subsequent to the coming of Christ the churches assumed a benevolent attitude towards the poor, making them objects of charity. It should be emphasized that charity has been and always will

be necessary, and was taught by Christ, for some will always fall behind in the race with an equal start.

But He must have chosen companions among the poor and unlearned for some deep reason, as it was in direct opposition to the customs of the heathen world with which He was surrounded.

By so doing He gave all men an equal chance; but He taught the bestowing of charity on those who fall behind others for various reasons; the failure, however, to succeed from a material standpoint, not to shut them off from companionship with the more fortunate.

Could any more beautiful standard for humanity be conceived?

What suffering has been endured because it has been disregarded!

But in this age when the poor, after centuries of oppression, are now well educated, an appeal should go forth to the clergy to be the first to welcome them as brothers, inciting others to do the same, with clarion calls from the pulpit.

And the clergy going before, leading the poorer classes by the hand, would awaken the world to the realization that Christ intended all men to stand on an equal social footing for their mutual betterment.

It is not wise to overlook the fact that many of the poor think that the churches consider their temporal welfare only from the standpoint of charity. In their enlightened state of education and development it is they who are pointing out to the churches wherein they have been remiss in following the attitude of their Master in His example towards themselves. This attitude has been the cause of much discontent among them with the churches, and has estranged a number who otherwise would have been regular attendants at the services. In this connection the liberty is taken of quoting part of a letter addressed to Mr. John Corcoran, Secretary Christian Working Men's Institute, New York City, from Mr. Josiah Pompelly. Both of these men are well qualified from experience to understand the requirements of the working man.

*"542 West 112th Street,
September 17, 1910.*

"MR. JOHN CORCORAN, *Secretary,*
Christian Working Men's Institute,
312 West 54th Street, City.

"*Dear Brother Corcoran:*

"There never was a time when the working men were considering where they could find a church leader and have a church of their own more than at the present.

"Rev. Charles Stetzle, a member of a Trade

Union and the head of the Department of Church and Labor of the Presbyterian Church, told me that, of the thousands of articles he writes for Labor papers, those that 'are the most pronounced in their religious tone and most fearless in dealing with the sins and shortcomings of labor are given the biggest headlines: and National Conventions of Labor are now opened with prayer by local ministers.' God speed the day, I say, when working men will rally around the Church of Christ accepting Him as their leader and champion, and when under His guidance and under the pledge of the Unionists and the vow of the Christian the emancipation of the whole body of working men, physical, mental and moral may be brought about, and all workers shall be brothers.

"The Church, as you and I know it, is not, as some labor men say it is, 'the Church of the rich rascal,' for as a matter of fact our churches and great charities are in the main supported by Christian men and women of small means.

"As for the hard-hearted employer, we find often in the churches they are not the Church itself, but rather the parasites of the Church. . . . Of course I know how seriously the Church has failed in many ways to come up to the true ideal of its great social mission; but our wage earners must look on both sides of the case and give the Church fair justice.

"And now on the other hand, has not organized Labor committed wrongs and often unjustly caused grievous loss to the public as well as to the employer and employee? The cost of the last strike in Philadelphia foots up more than \$18,000,000. And did it really pay? . . .

"Is there not a better way out of this mighty warfare of Capital and Labor?

"Here is a chance for the Church to come in and do a useful work by advocating a proper government surveyance of labor combination as well as of our great corporations, or the establishing of a properly organized Board of Conciliation, the latter to be compulsory and not voluntary.

"This last is a plan followed by New Zealand. . . . So there (as in few other countries) there is industrial peace. . . .

"And to-day the Labor Unions concede that this human, just and practical system has greatly bettered labor conditions.

"This or some even better plan should be adopted, and all our ministers should work and preach against class warfare, and in favor of a new Declaration, as between employer and employee, not of Independence, but of Interdependence.

"But let the watchword be equal opportunity for all and special privileges for none. . . .

"I am, fraternally yours,

"JOSIAH C. POMPELTY."

Perhaps it might be well at this juncture to mention an obvious fact that it is to the large majority who have not been extending a reciprocal friendship to the poor in all respects to whom this appeal now is being made, and not to those who have lived up to their obligations towards them. Our country went before the nations of the world during the last century teaching religious and political liberty; and though in many respects we have not lived up to the high standard we have set for ourselves, yet those who persistently aim the highest are surest

to make the best mark. May we not then, proud of bearing the name of Americans and above all of being Christians, again go before the peoples of the world inaugurating this century for the "Brotherhood of Man" ?

XVIII

SUMMARY OF THE CAUSES OF THE DE- BASEMENT AND THE ELEVATION OF WOMEN AND OF THE POOR

SINCE the earliest annals of history down to the present day man has misused his power over other human beings.

Throughout the ages this misuse of power will be found in practically every conceivable aspect. This condition was early demonstrated in primitive times through the subjugation of the weaker man by the physically stronger one. Even at the present period of the world's history remnants of this aspect of the abuse of power remain in Africa and in other lands where men are subjugated by their fellow beings and are retained, in captivity, as slaves. It is greatly to the credit of the American people that when this evil arose in our land in large proportions, having been a heritage from Colonial days, that they were willing to suppress it at the cost of thousands of lives and of many millions of dollars.

In early ages, as the world advanced and the

stronger man became richer and more powerful, largely through the efforts of those whom he had subjugated, the power of education and also of wealth was added to that of physical strength in continuing his supremacy.

As the world became more and more populous the power exercised by physical strength developed into the organization of armies in order to suppress weaker tribes and nations. With the development of this method of acquiring power, whole tribes of peoples were reduced to a state of slavery, the Israelites having toiled in bondage to the Egyptians for many years.

The misuse of power of man over man had reached a culminating point when Rome had conquered the known world; and she took pride in parading the subjugated victims of other nations through her streets, to flaunt before the populace the might of her victorious armies and of their leaders. Rome then ruled supreme and no one had redress beyond her caprices.

This misuse of power as the fruition of man's inclination under the guidance of heathen religions finally had reached a climatic standpoint.

At this time, when man's inhumanity to his fellow creatures cried most loudly to the skies for justice, the response came from on high by the

advent of a new Teacher in the world with precepts utterly at variance with the general practices of human beings and of the teachings of their religion.

Yet the possibility, humanly speaking, that this new Teacher, born in the humblest circumstances, and surrounding Himself with the lowly and the unlearned, should achieve any power in a world permeated with a gross inconsideration of the weak and the oppressed, seemed beyond the remotest hope of attainment.

Yet His precepts were absolutely necessary to overcome the existing misuse of power.

He struck a blow at the root of the entire system by placing all men on an equal footing.

The "Brotherhood of Man" thus inaugurated by Him, at such a period, obviously must have had a deep significance.

The power exerted by heathen religions in placing many in positions of inferiority through the system of caste had existed for hundreds and even thousands of years; and it was never broken until brought directly in contact with "*The Power to Right Our Wrongs*," even Christianity itself. So it was essential for the welfare of humanity that a new order of ideas be inaugurated.

In order that it may be well understood that the

subordination of human beings is a part of the precepts of prevailing heathen religions, and that they are not merely secular customs, the following quotations from their sacred books and from the writings of their great teachers cannot fail to be of a convincing nature.¹

“While there are great wrongs against women in our own land there is this difference: the wrongs of Hindu, Chinese and Moslem women are buttressed behind the sanctions of religion and are endorsed by the founders of their faith, while in our own land these wrongs flaunt themselves, against the spirit and the plain provisions of our religion. If women fully recognized the emancipatory nature of the pure religion of Jesus the force of the religious missionaries’ arguments would be tremendously strengthened.

“From the teachings of Confucius may be quoted, ‘Man is the reproduction of Heaven and is supreme in all things. On this account woman can determine nothing for herself and should be subject to the three obediences,—to her father, husband and son. Her business is to prepare food and wine.

“‘Beyond the threshold of her own apartments

¹ Quotations in this chapter are largely from “Western Women in Eastern Lands.”

she should not be known for evil or for good. . . .
If her husband dies she should not marry again.'

"Listen again to the venerated law of Manu, as revered by the Hindus as are the Ten Commandments by Christians.

" 'A man of thirty shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him; or a man of twenty-four a girl of eight years of age' (Manu IX, 94). Though destitute of virtue or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities, yet her husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead to her sons. A woman must never be independent.

" 'If a daughter is married at the age of six her father is certain to ascend to the highest Heaven. If the daughter is not married before seven the father will only reach the second Heaven. If the daughter is not married till the age of ten the father can only attain the lowest place assigned the blessed. If the girl is not married until she is eleven years of age, all her progenitors for six generations will suffer pains and penalties' (Manu V, 147-156 in part).

" 'Let the wife who wishes to perform sacred obligations wash the feet of her husband and drink

the water, for the husband is to the wife greater than Vishnu.'

"Religion, as the word is understood, has two distinct natures in the Hindu Law, the masculine and the feminine. The sum and substance of the latter may be given in a few words. 'To look upon her husband as a god; to hope for salvation only through him; to be obedient to him in all things; never to court independence; never to do anything but that which is approved by law and custom.'¹

"In all the great temples to which pilgrims resort are holy shrines where throngs of temple girls are kept. These girls are consecrated to the service of the god in childhood; they are married to him; and by their vow are obliged to submit to the wishes of pilgrims and of priests. These girls are beautifully dressed, loaded with jewels, taught in all the arts that attract and bring great revenues into the temple treasury. They are taught by the priest that they accumulate stores of blessings for themselves for a future state. These women are so highly respectable in Hindu society that no wedding is celebrated without their presence.

"The degradation of womanhood by the very re-

¹ "The High Caste Hindu Woman," pp. 81-84.

ligion of India is so great that the British Government excluded from the mails as obscene matter translations from some of the sacred scriptures of Hinduism.

“Buddhist scriptures allow no hope of immortality to a woman except that for the greatest religious devotion she be rewarded in some future transmigration by being born a man. Her hopeless inferiority is assumed.

“By training and education the Japanese girl is prepared to be exactly what her Pagan master desires her to be fitted for,—‘Subordination, obedience and service.’

“As a result of the treatment of women Arthur H. Smith, one of the best authorities in matters Chinese, is quoted as having made the following statement:

“‘Suicide among the Chinese wives and daughters is very common, epidemic at times,’ and he gives as a reason the ‘unhappy status of women in married life.’ He instances cases in which young girls band themselves together to commit suicide rather than consent to marriage, and says, ‘The death roll of suicides is a most convincing proof of the woes endured by Chinese women.’

“A similar statement is made by William Elliott Griffis in regard to the women of Japan.

“ ‘The list of female suicides in Japan is a terribly long one.’

“ If we turn to Moslem lands we find millions of women living beneath the crescent. Here, too, it is but just to confine ourselves to Moslem ideas, and not to instances of marked injustice or evil.

“ A book has recently been published by Casim Ameen, a learned jurist of Cairo, in which the evil conditions of women’s lives are laid bare by one who cannot be accused of Christian prejudices. He says :

“ ‘ Man is the absolute master ; woman the slave. She is the object of his pleasures whenever and however he pleases. Knowledge is his, ignorance is hers. Firmament and the light are his ; darkness and the dungeon are hers.’

“ In Egypt, ‘ Some of the men, alarmed because European ideas are invading the sanctity of the harem and the priests, are writing to the papers to prove that the demands of the women are contrary to the teachings of the Koran.

“ As an illustration of the difficulty of dealing with the fanaticism of Mohammedans, the Moslem University at Cairo still teaches the ‘ Ptolemaic System of the Universe,’—the earth at the centre of the solar system, around which the sun and the stars revolve.”

In order that no doubt may exist in the mind of the reader that heathen religions themselves, and not merely the national customs, are also responsible for placing men as well as women in positions of inferiority through the system of caste, the following statements regarding the origin thereof will be corroborative.

Color, which the Portuguese called "casta" or caste, was first responsible for the division of the whole population of India between the conquerors and the conquered tribes.¹ Reference has already been made to this fact in preceding pages, when emphasizing the statements regarding the power of physical force in suppressing human beings. But a dual responsibility also exists for this condition, as their religion itself also teaches it.

The strife between the conquerors and the conquered endured for many centuries; but at last the priests who had officiated in religious offices for the kings (Vispatis) took advantage of the ignorance of the people, and succeeded in establishing themselves as rulers over all the castes.

Brahma says in a Purana, "My gods are the Brahmins. I know no beings equal to you, O Brahmins, by whose mouth I eat." Brahma (the first impersonation of the Brahma) is claimed to have

¹ American Encyclopedia.

first exhaled the priest from his mouth; then he brought forth the warrior from his arms; the agriculturist from his hips; and the lowest caste "Soodra" from his feet.

It was the portion of the lowest caste to serve all the others and to be despised by them. This social system is represented as having existed from eternity.

During his lifetime a Soodra, a lowest caste man, cannot rise "any more than a stone can become a plant," but in case he has led a holy life, in another incarnation he may be reborn a priest. The lowest caste received the name of "Pariahs," owing to a bell that formerly they were obliged to wear to warn the Brahmins of their approach, because of the defilement of their presence.

On the other hand, so far is this religious system of caste carried that a lowest caste man will turn away with disgust if he be invited to dine with an European of the highest rank.

The British Government, though assuming a policy of non-interference with the religious teachings in her colonies, has been urged, nevertheless, to protect the lowest castes from being treated with indignities by others.

It is clear then from the foregoing statements that heathen religions make it impossible for poor

and uneducated men to rise, while women are permanently subordinated to the opposite sex and kept in seclusion from the world.

And the teachings of Christ alone place the rich and the poor and the two sexes on an equal footing.

XIX

THE GREATEST POWER IN LIFE

A MULTIPLICITY of evidence weakens an argument instead of strengthening it.

It would be possible for the writer to fill page after page with evidence similar to the foregoing to prove that heathen religions have been largely responsible for placing many human beings in a position of inferiority, from which it has been impossible for them to rise until they came directly under the influence of Christian peoples.

It is of deep significance that since the recent missionary awakening during the last century the Christian population of India doubled in thirty years' time. So Christians should feel their culpability in having so tardily fulfilled Christ's message to "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Probably most persons who have failed to interest themselves in foreign missions have not taken the trouble to investigate the influence of heathen religions upon the material, as well as upon the spiritual, welfare of the people.

In all history and through all time Christ has stood as the Friend above all others of the poor and of the oppressed.

He has been The Greatest Power in Life in up-raising them.

Heathen nations are now awakening to the realization that the Christian ones of the globe stand in a position of material as well as of spiritual superiority to others. So they are imitating their customs, imperfectly as Christ's standards have been attained by those who have professed to follow them.

The percentage of increase of different religions in India during the last decade probably will be of interest.

	<i>Increase</i>
Christian	32%
Buddhists	12%
Mohammedans	6%
Hindus	5%

The following letter is indicative of the appreciation of some of the natives of Japan of the great privileges and benefits they have derived from Christianity. It is but one of many similar instances that might be cited. It was sent by the District Convocation of Kyoto, and is a spontaneous expression of their appreciation of what the American Church is doing to aid them.

"To the President and Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

"In former years we were living in the dim twilight given by other religions, philosophies, and moral teachings, but through the faith, sympathy, love and teachings of the Christians of the United States of America we have had the true, full light of Christ brought to us, for which we are most devoutly thankful.

"That through your kind assistance we have also been able to organize the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai, which is in communion with the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world, fills us with profound gratitude which we cannot find words to express.

"During previous years you have kindly sent us as Bishops such worthy, learned, faithful, and loving men as the Rt. Rev. C. M. Williams, D. D., the Rt. Rev. John McKim, D. D., the Rt. Rev. S. C. Partridge, D. D.; all of these we have greatly esteemed and honored. Recently you also honored our earnest request and sent us the Rt. Rev. H. St. George Tucker, D. D., as our Bishop to succeed Bishop Partridge.

"In view of this succession of highly esteemed favors, we, the undersigned, have been appointed a committee by the Kyoto District Convention to convey to you the deepest gratitude for the many evidences of your deep interest and love which we have received.

"Most respectfully yours,

OKAMOTO CHIYOO,
YAMABE KINKICHI,
IRVIN H. CORRELL,

Committee.

"Meiji 45th year, 4th month.

*Nippon Sei Ko Kwai,
Kyoto District Convention."*

One of the greatest events of history is the birth of the Chinese Republic owing to Christian influences. For hundreds and even thousands of years it had been a heathen empire, supporting all the customs of heathenism. In order that the facts concerning the rebirth of this nation may be clear the words of two business men who have been in a position to judge of the real condition of affairs will be quoted from a statement made over their own signatures. Reference is made to the words of Robert Dollar, president of the Dollar Steamship Line, San Francisco, and of W. H. Booth, president Security Trust and Savings Bank, both of whom went with the Pacific Coast business men to the Orient in the interests of American commerce.

Their statement in part is as follows: "We have heard men soundly denouncing missions and missionaries, who, when questioned as to the details and particulars, had to confess they knew nothing of the subject except what they had been told. So when trying to get at the truth one should be guided, to a great extent, by whether the person has been on the ground and investigated at first hand. We claim to be of this latter class.

"The first missions were started under the most discouraging conditions. The Government was most unfriendly to them, and if the late Empress

Dowager could have had her orders carried out, not one Christian would have survived. Until recent years it was supposed that no converts were ever made, except in the coolie class. That was wrong, as many of the upper class, comprising the highest in the land, were Christians, and those of us who had access to their homes knew of the facts, but to save them from persecution and death the secret was kept until the Provisional Government was formed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, when the first plank in their platform was 'Religious Freedom,' and a majority of his first cabinet were Christians.

"Then for the first time the general public discovered what inroads Christianity had made among the Chinese gentry and officials.

"Those results were not the work of a day, but by the long persistent efforts of the missionaries backed up by education. This we claim to be China's great hope, and it is fully appreciated as every school, whether missionary or government, is full to overflowing. In no way can the missionaries forward their cause better than by education, as China must be evangelized by Chinese, and the great want of the present day is educated Chinese to carry on the work under the guidance and supervision of the missionaries. In this con-

nection it is proper to say that but for the Christianizing influence China would not have been a republic to-day.

“The tremendous and magical changes that have come over China are the result of missionary teachings, and the effect of having so many of the best young men educated in our American institutions of learning where they early receive the solid foundation of Christianity on which to build their structure.

“The Y. M. C. A. is doing a great work. It is crowded beyond its utmost capacity and is proving a good auxiliary for the Church. Too much cannot be said of the medical work. The strongest critics are compelled to say that the medical missionaries have done a great work and are still at it. In an article of this length, space forbids giving personal illustrations in all the various branches of the work, but it is not for want of material.

“Now the question naturally would come from business men, ‘What has been accomplished? What are the results?’ This will never be correctly answered until the last great day, but it looks to us that the advancement of Christianity has kept pace with the material improvements and advancements. And to show to what extent this has gone, we give a few facts from the official

records, from which you can form your own conclusions :

“ Seventeen years ago there were ten miles of railroad ; now there are over seven thousand miles.

“ In 1903, the post-office handled twenty million pieces of mail ; in 1912, three hundred and fifty million pieces.

“ Fifteen years ago no inland telegraphs. Now over fifty thousand miles.

“ At that time there were not more than six newspapers. Now there are over two hundred and fifty.

“ The growing of opium was prohibited, entailing a loss of forty million dollars of revenue per annum, and this when it was with the utmost difficulty that they could pay the current expenses of the Government.

“ Women’s feet were unbound, and they have been restored to their proper place in the homes.

“ A revolution took place, and in an incredibly short space of time the Government has changed from an absolute monarchy to a liberal form of republic.

“ Now when a nation, comprising a quarter of the inhabitants of the globe, can accomplish what we have stated, we can reasonably assume that they can and will accomplish as much for Chris-

tianity, so it remains for us to be up and doing, and help them all we can.

“The way the various denominations work together is praiseworthy. They are united in China as in no other country, showing a solid front against the common enemy. In our judgment the work has only really begun. It has demonstrated its value, and this demonstration calls for continued and augmented effort. The work should be encouraged and it should be supported. From every point of view it commands admiration and devoted encouragement.

“ROBERT DOLLAR,

President Dollar Steamship Line,

“W. H. BOOTH,

*President Security Trust and
Savings Bank.”*

The man who has played the most prominent part in China in effecting these great changes is Dr. Sun Yat Sen. His character and his ability mark him as one of the leading personalities of history, and he has frequently been compared to George Washington, as an unsullied leader of his people. But his zeal for the cause of Christianity, and the persecutions he has endured, because of his faith, entitle him to rank with the early Christians.

Dr. Hayes, who was for more than twenty years a missionary of the American Board in China, knew Dr. Sun Yat Sen well, and wrote concerning him in a recent article :

“Sun’s older brother was a most bitter enemy of Christianity, but this did not hinder Sun Yat Sen from imbibing the truths of Christianity in the Christian school of the Hawaiian Islands, though no open confession had as yet been made before the world.

“Thirty years ago, Christianity was by no means popular in China, and few were the Chinese, even in Southern China, who dared to step out openly and confess Jesus Christ as their Lord and Master, though secretly many were convinced that the idols were false and Christ true. Nearly every one that had the courage to take a public stand and be baptized was obliged to go contrary to the wishes of their nearest and dearest friends.

“And not a few endured such persecutions as the following :

“A wife tried to fasten a rope around her husband’s neck and hang him because he was a Christian and dared to preach the Gospel. A young Chinese preacher in the same province was seized and led to the edge of a precipice and commanded to renounce Christ and burn incense to the idols.

When he refused to do so he was hurled over the precipice and killed.

“It was at such a time as this that Sun Yat Sen arrived in China. Returning to his own country home, which lies about sixty miles west and north of Hong Kong, he soon was called upon to witness for his Master in no uncertain way.

“In every village in China there are great numbers of idols made of clay which are easily broken with a stick. Sun Yat Sen was not slow in telling some of the young men that the idols were all helpless, whereupon one of them dared him to strike one of the idols, and unwisely taking the dare he knocked off one of its fingers. A charge was made against the young Christian for the serious crime of defacing the idols of the village, but his father came to the rescue and explained to the angry villagers that his son had been abroad and had there imbibed false notions. It is doubtful, however, if even the father’s words would have had any effect upon the angry village elders if he had not given them some ‘hush’ money, which in China formerly settled all difficulties, even to revoking a life sentence.

“Being desirous of continuing his English studies Sun returned to Hong Kong and lived in the American Board Mission Home. In this way

Sun's faith was strengthened, and he was baptized in the schoolroom of the mission.

"During the following summer vacation Sun Yat Sen invited an English colporteur and myself to go to his home, and it was only in after years that I realized what courage this had demanded on his part, as our coming meant increased persecution for him.

"In these early years Sun was on fire with holy zeal for God, and he talked and preached as much about Jesus Christ as he did about political reform in later years. He had such persuasive power that in a short time he led two of his young friends to Christ. He never was an orator, but his message was always given earnestly, and the man back of the message made people stop and think. Truth and earnestness were his principal weapons in preaching the Gospel. He forgot time as he brought the good news of Christ to his fellow men. He would talk for two or three hours without rest, holding his hearers spellbound by the force of his logic and his simple earnestness.

"Genial to the highest degree and with a laughing mien, he won his way to the hearts of Christian and heathen alike, until he has become the first citizen in the hearts of his countrymen. But Sun was not permitted to smash idols, confess Jesus

Christ publicly and take two 'foreign devils' to his village without hearing from his older brother in Honolulu, who at this time was the financial stay of the family. This brother at first sent home word that his younger brother must give up his religion, but this threat was not heeded.

"Finally he had recourse to guile and deception, writing Sun Yat Sen that he wanted him to come to Honolulu to give his signature to a certain legal document. The young man went, for in China the younger brother must always yield to the wishes of his older brother; but no sooner had he landed in Honolulu than he was told he must give up his religion, or forfeit the financial aid heretofore given by his brother.

"It was a time of crisis. What was to be done? It seemed as though the help given him by his brother was necessary to finish his education. After considering the matter Sun told his brother that he could not renounce his faith in Jesus Christ and worship idols again. 'Very well,' said his brother, 'then you can "hoe your own row" and follow the foreign devils' religion.' Forsaken by his brother, the Christians in Honolulu collected enough money for his passage back to Hong Kong.

"Amid hardships and trials, amid hunger and thirst, amid persecutions and hairbreadth escapes,

he has accomplished the liberation of his country, an ambition which had its birth, Sun himself says, in the teachings of Christianity.

“In his own words let me close this short review of the life of this truly remarkable man. ‘Brothers,’ he said when addressing a number of Chinese students, ‘applied, practical Christianity is our true need. Away with commentaries and doubts. God asks your obedience, not your patronage. He demands your service, not your criticism!’”

If newspaper reports be correct the present President of China has “placed a price upon the head” of Sun Yat Sen because he and some of his followers opposed him in open rebellion. The President had supported the Manchu dynasty, and was accused of playing false to the republic, as well as of having instigated a certain murder. Whether the truth of the case ever will be made known or not time alone can determine; but the career of Sun Yat Sen, at all events, will stand for the sincerity of his own conviction in opposing the President. In a word, the sincerity of the Chinese converts to Christianity has long been a subject of appreciative commendation. During the recent Boxer Rebellion thousands of them preferred to meet death rather than to renounce Christ.

With men of such calibre to fight the cause of

Christianity even as they have fought for their political rights, the inference justly may be made that this great nation at no distant date will stand among the Christian peoples of the world.

In South China a Christian has been placed at the head of the educational system of the great province of Kwangtung, with its thirty-two million souls. A man who knows the methods of Christian nations is now sought after, whereas only ten short years ago he had to "hide his light under a bushel." The leaven has been working beyond the dreams of any anticipation. In this great country, the most populous in the world, 440 mission schools are at work with a capacity of about 20,000 students.

To quote the words of Payson J. Treat, Associate Professor of History in Leland Stanford University: "Yesterday it was Japan, to-day it is China, and to-morrow it may be India, who seeks to learn the secret of Western success. Surely we will not be blameless if the Orient satisfies this desire with the husks of Western civilization rather than with the Bread of Life."

XX

MIRACULOUS CHANGES

IT is with great hopefulness that we now turn our thoughts from one of the oldest civilizations in the world. And it is with an added interest that we may study the developments in Africa, called the "Dark Continent" by David Livingstone, one of the most remarkable of all missionaries. To the modern mind, the name of the "Dark Continent" and that of David Livingstone are almost synonymous, so wonderful was his unselfishness in behalf of the dark peoples, and so great was his hold upon their affections.

To continue the line of our argument concerning the attitude of heathen religions in Africa, as elsewhere, in keeping the heel of oppression on human beings, some idea should be given of the Paganism prevailing there.¹

Different tribes have different religions, but in general the gods of the Pagan Africans are demons, who delight in all sorts of cruelties. Some of their

¹ Facts in this chapter about Africa are largely from "Daybreak in the Dark Continent."

names are "The Hater,"—"Malignancy," and "The Creator of Calamities." Few of their gods are benign; and the idea of their kindness arose from the fact that in some districts fewer accidents occurred than elsewhere. So the conviction arose that the gods of such localities were less malicious than were others.

In reality the African Pagan imagines his gods are arrayed in an infernal league against him. So in order to placate them and to supply their needs, he slaughters scores of human beings as a sacrificial feast. Cannibalism, so wide-spread in Central Africa, is also thought by careful authorities to have originated as a religious feast. The spirit of the victim, it is believed, is partaken of, even as is his flesh in the human form. So continual raids are made upon neighboring tribes to renew the human "fattening pens." All Pagans are not cannibals; but the custom is wide-spread in Central Africa.

It may be of interest to the reader to learn that a native African clergyman, whose parents had been converted from Paganism, recently said to the writer: "I will tell you that they sent me down a boy from Central Africa to the mission, and at first I was afraid to let him play with my baby for fear that he might eat him. But now," he added,

"I think he will be a good boy, and I can make something of him." The speaker also emphasized the fact that the religions of the different tribes in Africa are varied.

Other inhuman methods might also be mentioned to prove the misuse of power over men as well as women practiced in the name of these religions. But those already cited undoubtedly will be sufficiently convincing to prove the thread of our argument in this respect.

The attitude of the African towards women is similar to that existing almost universally outside of Christian lands.

To begin with, the burial alive of the wives of a dead chief with him is one of the religious customs. The man is lord over all his little domain, including his wives and his slaves, who may be his concubines. It is his wife's place to make his life as smooth for him as possible by serving him practically as a slave.

Polygamy, which is commonly practiced, is the cause of many jealousies and quarrels. It often leads to unfaithfulness in the marriage relations and frequently to murder. The wife is always acquired by barter. The number of wives of the king of Ashanti was limited to 3,333! This existed prior to the English occupation.

Slavery is so universal that even slaves themselves are the owners of slaves.

So, unhappily, in Africa, even more than on any other continent, the native religions have contributed not only to subjugate human beings, but they have also incited their followers to deeds of crime.

In 1875 Mr. Henry M. Stanley sent from Uganda his famous message to the Christian world: "King Mtesa has asked for missionaries for his people." The people for whom this request was made were described by Stanley as "crafty, fraudulent, deceiving, lying, thievish knaves, taken as a whole." Women and children as well as slaves were property; a subject might be shot to test a gun. Cannibalism was probably occasionally practiced; human sacrifice was often wholesale slaughter; and Mtesa's father had been accustomed to sacrifice great numbers of his subjects whenever religious caprice or personal vengeance dictated.

In 1896, less than twenty years after the arrival of the first missionaries, Pilkington wrote his favorite summary: "A hundred thousand souls brought into close contact with the Gospel; half of them able to read for themselves; two hundred buildings raised by native Christians in which to worship God and read His Word; two hundred native evangelists and teachers entirely supported

by the native Church ; ten thousand copies of the New Testament in circulation ; six thousand souls eagerly seeking daily instruction ; statistics of baptism, of confirmation, of adherence to teachers more than doubling yearly for the last six or seven years ; the power of God shown by changed lives ; and all this in the centre of the thickest spiritual darkness in the world ! ”

Moreover the Uganda Church itself had its roll of native membership written in martyrs' blood. Its early history is a recital of the most sublime faith amid terrible persecutions and torture.

The Ngoni in 1875 were a savage, bloodthirsty tribe. They raided for sustenance and slaughtered for pleasure. J. W. Jack forcibly portrays the transformation wrought in them after a few years' missionary work among them. “ Savage creatures who have lived all their lives for plunder and profligacy, whose hearts have never known decency, are being born again by the Divine Power, and are sitting at the feet of Jesus ‘ clothed and in their right minds. ’ All this in a little more than a decade of time. It is a marvel of power greater than any belonging to this lower world. ”

The native Christians from the first adopted a standard, which was convincing of their sincerity, that every member should engage personally in

some form of Christian service. This explains their self-support, the elevation of their lives and the continued record of "Conquest for Christ."

"Thirty years ago there was not a convert in all Central Africa; to-day there are over 60,000; thirty years ago no churches and schools; to-day over 2,000; thirty years ago no pupils; to-day about 300,000 receive religious and secular training; thirty years ago no native evangelization; to-day about one hundred ordained and over 3,000 native helpers are carrying the Gospel to their Pagan brethren."

A volume might be filled, giving instances of the wonderful transformations of character of these bloodthirsty savages, with hardly a vestige of moral purpose in their lives, into peaceful, industrious Christians. An exact estimate of the number of Christians in Africa, multiplied since the great missionary awakening during the last century, cannot be definitely determined owing to the scattered population and the great area covered.

But a reliable authority makes the total including white as well as negroes about 9,000,000 in round numbers.

To quote the words of W. T. Stead, "South Africa is the product of three forces, conquest, trade and missions; and of the three, conquest

counts the least, and missions as the greatest factor in the expansion of civilization in Africa. Missionaries have been everywhere the pioneers of Africa." The frontier has advanced on the stepping stones of missionaries' graves.

It was a governor of Cape Colony who said that, "The frontier would be better guarded by nine mission stations than by nine military posts."

Negligent as they have been in the past to Christ's command to "Preach the Gospel to every creature," Christians are now well awakened to the realization of their responsibilities towards the heathen.

"A systematized effort to evangelize the world is now among the largest of the 'world movements.' The number of missionaries is about 50,000, with six times as many native assistants; and the funds at their disposal, including the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Greek churches as well as private enterprises and donations, approximates \$100,000,000 annually.

"Formerly, men imbued with a religious zeal, whether fitted or not for missionary work in other respects, were sent out into the field. But at the present day so many safeguards are placed about the selection of missionaries that it has been stated, 'It is easier to acquire a diplomatic post from the

Government than it is to get an appointment in the mission field.' Yet the salaries they receive are barely enough to support them, though the education for their work requires years of preparation.

"The average missionary spends four years in preparation for his work in his own land. If he goes out as a medical missionary that necessitates two or three more years of study. It is also essential for him after his arrival in the country in which he is to work to spend from two to four years in studying the language before he is really ready to begin his efforts.

"Nearly 2,000,000 students are now numbered in the schools the missionaries have established and this does not include the millions in the Sunday-schools.

"The missions also support 1,000 hospitals, the beneficent effects of which have been far-reaching. This wonderful crusade against heathenism that has been suppressing men and women for centuries and keeping them in the misery of intolerable customs has been forming during the last century, till its momentum has already swept away dozens of the lesser Pagan religions; while Christianity has increased twice as rapidly as has the population of the world."¹

¹ *World's Work.*

XXI

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

THE foregoing pages have not been intended merely as a dissertation upon sociological conditions; for after reading books containing a discussion of different topics, the question has so often arisen as to the practical results that might be obtained therefrom, that the following suggestions are respectfully submitted, with the hope that these pages may have some fruition.

But it is our wish primarily that the motive will have been seen throughout as that of endeavoring to prove from facts that the world has been developing, gradually, towards Christ's standard of respecting the rights of all persons in all aspects of life.

As all these recommendations have been founded on a careful study of successful experiments, few of them, in reality, are theories; but they are rather suggestions for the extension of desirable results.

SUGGESTIONS

1. The clergy, as leading exponents of Christ's

attitude towards the poor, should be more forcible and untiring in preaching the obligation of following His example in making companions of them.

It should, of course, be understood that discretion should be used in making the selection of such friends, even as among those of one's existing station in life.

2. The reader might also help consummate Christ's standard towards the poor by choosing one or more friends from among them.

As tradition and temperament are forcible factors in influencing some persons, if any reader should not desire to associate with those who are really "unlearned," probably congenial companions might be found from among the laboring classes who have had the full advantages of a common school education. Many of them are refined by nature, and developed by a common school education they make agreeable companions.

3. In order to help establish a Christian standard for industrial conditions some church (or Federation of Churches) might organize a "Fraternal Conference of Capital and Labor," to be convened at regular intervals, of a national and eventually international scope, to discuss methods that would respect alike the rights of the employer and of the employed.

Such meetings might be far-reaching for good in their results. Not alone might they prove advantageous from the industrial standpoint, but they would also be another and a forcible demonstration to the laborer that, irrespective of the attitude of charitable donations, the Church is actively interested in his material as well as in his spiritual welfare.

As many churches have a "Social Service" department, the forces are already organized to undertake the formation of such conferences.

It is obvious that Christian churches should stand at the front in helping mould and improve by their counsel and efforts the material circumstances of the poor, as might be done through conferences so organized.

4. A Christian standard for industrial conditions necessarily would imply that the rights of the employer and also those of the employed be equally respected.

5. Though a number of methods probably might be evolved to achieve such an end, nevertheless practical experience has already demonstrated that the "Protocol of Peace" has formed a nucleus for the establishment of a system to uphold the just claims of all connected with industries.

6. Were Boards of Adjustment established in

connection with every industry, the points at variance between the employer and the employed might be amicably settled.

7. Such a system would be strengthened by the existence of a State Board of Adjustment to decide any unsolved problem of a local Board, as explained in previous pages.

Were the Church to organize conferences, as suggested, to promote a Christian standard for industrial conditions, and were the clergy to preach more forcibly the obligation of making comrades of the poor, the laborer could not fail to see that Christ's teachings are in reality "*The Power to Right Our Wrongs.*"

The Board of Adjustment represents an arena standing for justice towards all in industrial affairs.

8. The proceedings of a Board of Adjustment should and probably would eventuate in some system of coöperation.

Coöperation represents the claims of the laborer that he be made a participator with capital in the fruits of the industry.

Successful experiments are demonstrating that these claims may be worked out practically and peacefully, and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The methods are numerous and apply to each individual industry ; but the principle has been successfully demonstrated though still in an embryonic state.

Such a system might well be called "Fraternalism," as it would demonstrate a friendship existing between the employer and the employed.

And the Government also would assume an attitude of friendship towards both sides, without favoritism, through the existence of a State Board of Adjustment that would stand for a fair settlement of the claims of those concerned. This would not be accomplished through disinterested persons, but by those chosen with the approval of all directly concerned.

The advantages of such a system would be obvious, as each side would have its rights upheld by those best qualified to represent them.

The Government would in no sense control the industries any more than at the present day, so no possibility of graft would be incurred.

And the laborer would have the satisfaction of knowing that his interests were being upheld by his own representatives.

Another great advantage to the system would consist in its being a peaceful evolution instead of entailing a "bloody revolution" which undoubtedly

would occur were Socialists to "seize the whole powers of Government in order that they may lay hold of the whole system of Socialized industry."

Coöperation obtains a just share of the fruits of capital by peaceful means without taking others' property.

Whereas, on the other hand Socialism would take the property of others (probably through revolution) and if successful would place it in the control of the Government, which would present exceptional opportunities for graft, and inaugurate an era of experiments and exploitation in the handling of industries under such conditions.

9. The "Protocol of Peace," Boards of Adjustment, and a fixed determination to secure some system of coöperation in connection with every industry would be a just standard to establish, founded on successful economic results.

10. Each local Board of Adjustment should draft a "Protocol of Peace" applicable to the needs of each industry, which would serve as a species of "Constitution" for the plans to be worked upon.

11. A complete precedent, in sequence of operation to the plan just suggested, for Industrial affairs, will be found in all modern governments, as will be indicated by the following table :

<i>Precedent</i>	<i>Proposition for</i>
Government	Industrial Affairs
Constitution	Protocol of Peace
{ Upper House	{ Upper House
{ Senate	{ State Board of Adjustment (For Details see Chap. X.)
{ Lower House	{ Lower House
{ House of Representatives	{ Local Board of Adjustment (For Details see Chap. IX.)

Above all, such a system would not seek to assail the religious convictions of any person, nor to establish Atheism, as does Socialism.

Should not the Church stand foremost in establishing a standard that follows Christ's precepts in respecting the rights of all in industrial affairs?

The following Resolution was passed by the Protestant Episcopal Convention recently assembled in New York City :

"Whereas, the moral and spiritual welfare of the people demands that the highest standard of living should everywhere be maintained, that all conduct of industry should emphasize the search for such higher and humane forms of organization as will generally elicit the personal initiative and self-respect of the workman and give him a definite, personal stake in the system of production in which his life is given : and,

"Whereas, the most disproportionate inequalities and injustices as well as misunderstandings, prejudice and hatred as between employer and employee

are wide-spread in our social and industrial life to-day. Therefore, be it

“RESOLVED, the House of Bishops concurring, that we, the members of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, do hereby affirm that the Church stands for the ideal of social justice and that it demands the achievement of a social order in which there shall be a more equitable distribution of wealth, in which the social cause of poverty and the gross human waste of the present order shall be eliminated, and in which every worker shall have a just return for what he produces, a free opportunity for self-development and a fair share in all the gains of progress.

“And since such a social order can only be achieved progressively by the effort of men and women who in the spirit of Christ put the common welfare above personal gain, the Church calls upon every communicant, clerical and lay, seriously to take part and to study the complex conditions under which we are called upon to live, and so to act that the present prejudice, hate and injustice may be supplanted by mutual understanding, sympathy and just dealings, and the idea of a thoroughgoing democracy may finally be realized in our land.”

12. In order to hold warfare in check as far as possible, let the nations form an alliance to unite

their armaments to constitute an "International Peace Force," as they coöperated in China, to compel the settlement of disputed questions, at the Hague Tribunal.

13. Let the nations also leave the decisions about (aggressive) warfare to the vote of the people, upon whom the greater burden of it devolves. If one nation be attacked by another, a defense clearly is unavoidable, and prompt action necessary by the government, including mobilization.

Trace the gradual elevation of the poor throughout the ages, and it will be found in Christian lands.

A century ago this spirit culminated in the United States of America with these ringing words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

Not many years subsequently the French republic declared for "Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité."

In the last century, nation after nation has followed the democratic form of government of these two great countries.

To-day, in the new world, Canada alone represents monarchical ideas; Portugal was the last country to overthrow a king in Europe, and China,

the nation with the most teeming population of the globe, has recently become a Republic, owing to Christian influences.

Everywhere the voice of the people is being heard, where Christ's influence is growing.

The power of the ruler is greatly abridged, even where monarchies still exist among Christian peoples ; and the ballot is given to the poor, so their voice is also a powerful factor in such countries.

Some of these nations, notably England, are in reality practically democracies with lineal rulers. But this entails a social aristocracy which deprives many of their Christian privileges.

In distant lands the Sun of Righteousness is arising above the horizon of heathenism.

In every land Christ has been *The Power to Right Our Wrongs*.

The Christian nations of the world are incomparably more prosperous than are the heathen ones.

In Christian lands the poor are considered, as they are nowhere else, being educated and given political and other advantages that have never existed among the peoples of other religions, until brought in contact with Christianity.

In just such proportion as Christ's standard for the poor is being attained, do such nations forge forward among the prosperous ones of the globe.

An equal consideration of the rights of all creates material as well as spiritual superiority among the nations.

When Christ's precepts for the position of the poor are attained, then will be realized, judging from the evolution of Christian nations, an unparalleled era of development and of material prosperity, as well as a spiritual superiority.

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."

"Out of the shadows of war, dark as night,
The world rolls onward into light."

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